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no. 50

1978

THE MUSEUM
of
FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES
(Östasiatiska Museet)
STOCKHOLM



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THIS VOLUME HAS BEEN PRINTED WITH A GRANT FROM
HUMANISTISK-SAMHÄLLSVETENSKAPLIGA FORSKNINGSRÅDET

PRINTED BY
ELANDERS BOKTRYCKERI AB, KUNGSBACKA

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**This, the fiftieth volume of the Bulletin of the
Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, is dedicated to
the memory of
PROFESSOR BERNHARD KARLGREN
in grateful recognition of his eminent scholarship
which for more than four decades
formed the mainstay of this publication.**



Bernhard Karlgren

1889 – 1978

高本漢

Preface

On the fifteenth of September, 1929, the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Swedish China Research Committee, the first volume of this Bulletin was published. The China Committee had been set up chiefly to support the extensive collecting activities of Professor Johan Gunnar Andersson in China, and succeeded in bringing to Stockholm a considerable number of the rich finds from the Neolithic period collected by him. When Professor Andersson returned to Sweden in 1925 the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities was organized with the aid of Government funds in order to facilitate his archaeological research. Thanks to the unfailing support of the China Committee the new museum was soon richly endowed with gifts, in particular archaic bronzes from the collections of Orvar Karlbeck and Osvald Sirén as well as other important examples of early Chinese art and archaeological objects. When the museum was first opened to the public in 1929 it could boast of a large and important collection, and it was already recognized as a centre for the study of Far Eastern archaeology.

In order to have the invaluable collections scientifically studied and described Professor Andersson called for the co-operation of a number of learned colleagues and it was soon felt that the museum was in need of a scientific organ of its own in which to publish the contributions of these scholars. As a result the first issue of the Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities was published in 1929 under the editorship of Professor Andersson, who remained its formal editor until his retirement from the directorship of the museum in 1939.

From the very outset Professor Bernhard Karlgren was intimately associated with the Bulletin and contributed to its very first volume. He soon became not only one of its main contributors but also took over more and more of the responsibility for its publication until he formally assumed the editorship when he became director of the museum in 1939. The following year he published his epoch-making work *Grammata Serica*, followed the next year by *Huai and Han*, and contributed since then to almost every volume up to 1976. The eminent scholarship and untiring research-work manifested in these numerous articles in the domain of Chinese philology, archaeology and culture have been the

mainstay of this publication and firmly established its scholarly standard and world-wide reputation.

When Professor Karlgren retired from the directorship of the museum in 1959 he took it upon himself to continue his work as editor of the *Bulletin*, continuing in this capacity until 1976, when, after publishing the 48th volume, he resigned due to great age and failing eyesight.

As this number is the fiftieth issue of the *Bulletin* and the second to be published since I was requested to take over the editorship from Professor Karlgren, I had intended to dedicate this volume to him as a small token of appreciation for his long years of service to the *Bulletin* and to the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. As a special gesture to Professor Karlgren, and to show him how much his personality and his teaching meant to Sinological studies in Scandinavia, all the contributors to this volume are former students of his. Just before going to press, however, we received the sad news that Professor Karlgren died on 20th October, 1978. We are therefore dedicating the volume to his memory.

Jan C Wirgin
Editor

IS THERE A CHINESE DYNASTIC CYCLE?

by

HANS BIELENSTEIN

The Chinese developed early a belief in dynastic cycles, sustained by the two theories that Heaven confers its Mandate on a deserving house and eventually withdraws it for lack of performance, and that the Five Elements or Agents (Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal, Water) in perpetual sequence govern one dynasty after the other. The ancient Chinese dynastic historians were particularly guided by the former, and, in their selection and rejection of sources, attempted to substantiate why the first rulers of dynasties had been worthy and the last rulers unworthy of the Mandate. While their efforts have given a false impression of historical repetition, blurring the diversity in the foundation and collapse of dynasties, a cautious modern historian is generally able to allow for such bias. The damage done by these early and rather primitive cyclical theories has therefore been relatively slight.

On a more sophisticated level, a number of modern scholars has devised, or been attracted to, elaborate cyclical theories, trying to discover a common denominator for the rise and fall of Chinese dynasties. For instance, Fairbank writes: "Only the unimaginative can resist the idea that if we can read correctly the story of China's last two millenia, we can foresee her next two decades — a vain hope but an entrancing one."¹) He and Reischauer discuss the matter further in their popular history of East Asia.²) Having first remarked that the dynastic cycle has been a major block to the understanding of the fundamental dynamics of Chinese history, they go on to say: "It must be admitted, on the other hand, that there is a considerable validity to the Chinese concept of the dynastic cycle, if one interprets it as a somewhat superficial political pattern that overlay the more fundamental technological, economic, social, and cultural developments ... And within each dynasty such matters as fiscal conditions, administrative efficiency, and power relations with the "barbarians" followed remarkably similar patterns."³) This statement is followed by a discussion of various possible types of dynastic cycles,⁴) whereupon, previous caution forgotten, the dynastic cycle is referred to as though its existence were a proved fact. Notice such sentences as: "Hsüan Tsung's long reign (712-756) was perhaps the key period in the transition from ancient to early modern China. It was also, and more obviously, the crucial turning point in the dynastic cycle,

which revolved as inexorably during the T'ang as in the Han,"⁵) or: "The usual administrative decline and financial difficulties of the old dynastic cycle, however, had reappeared by the time the Sung had completed a century of rule,"⁶) or: "During its century and a half of existence the Southern Sung was, of course, no more impervious to the dynastic cycle than previous dynasties had been,"⁷) or: "In the end, the Ch'ing dynasty collapsed for both cyclical and secular reasons."⁸)

In the light of such influential statements, it has become urgent to examine seriously the various modern cyclical theories which are being advocated and to establish whether these have any validity or not. Since a cycle means "a complete set of events or phenomena recurring in the same sequence" (Webster), i.e. repetition and predictability, the issue before us is really one of determinism versus chance in history.

Let us start by examining the *dynastic demographic cycle* proposed by Ch'en Ta. He claims that "At the beginning of a new dynasty, when peace and order were maintained, population normally increased by the excess of births over deaths, and cultural development advanced apace through the division of labor. As time went on, the increased and increasing density, coupled with the lack of inventions and improvements in farming technology, gradually intensified the struggle for existence by the masses. Nevertheless, population continued to increase until it reached a saturation point, the apex of the cycle. Then came pestilence and famine, symptoms of overpopulation, until life became increasingly intolerable and revolution or war broke out. This temporarily relieved the pressure of population and brought a new dynasty into being. Population continued to decrease until it reached the lowest possible level, the bottom of the cycle. Then another cycle began, and the cyclical trends were thus repeated, each lasting several hundred years, the length of time being largely determined by the severity of the population pressure prior to the downfall of the reigning dynasty."⁹)

This theory is based on an unfortunate misunderstanding of the Chinese population figures. Ch'en Ta did not realize that the preserved totals are neither exclusively census figures, nor exclusively taxation figures, but both. By mixing together the two different sets and treating them as one, he saw enormous variations which really do not exist. What we have, instead, is two population curves. One, for the entire population, fluctuates around the 50 million level during the first millenium A.D. and then gradually rises. The other curve, for the taxable population of the empire, runs parallel, but on a much lower level.¹⁰) Between the two curves, Ch'en Ta's demographic cycle vanishes.

Lattimore devotes an entire chapter to the *cycles of dynastic and tribal history*.¹¹) Having stated that the rythm of Chinese history follows a marked pattern, and that every Chinese dynasty has risen out of a period of war, usually a long period, he goes on to say: "The brief chronicle of a Chinese dynasty is very simple: a Chinese general or barbarian conqueror establishes a peace which

usually is a peace of exhaustion. There follows a period of gradually increasing prosperity, as land is brought back under cultivation, and this passes into a period of apparently unchanging stability. Gradually, however, weak administration and corrupt government choke the flow of trade and taxes. Discontent and poverty spread. The last emperor of the dynasty is often vicious and always weak — as weak as the founder of the dynasty was ruthless. The great fight each other for power, and the poor turn against all government. The dynasty ends, and after an interval another begins, exactly as the last one began, and runs the same course.”¹²⁾

Lattimore argues further that once the civil war had begun, the great families were paralyzed by fear of the catastrophe that they had brought about by diverting to themselves the main sources of wealth. None of these families was willing to expose itself. While, as a class, they might stand together on the defensive in a rather loose and unorganized way, no one of them was likely to come forward as the representative of the class. The peasants, on the other hand, were unable to achieve an organisation on a national scale. It was impossible for them to create a new kind of China and to prevent the restoration of the imperial order. Such conditions overwhelmingly favoured one kind of a man, a hanger-on of the old order. He had to be low enough in either social origin or status to be able to voice the grievances of the peasants, even if he did not represent them. He also had to know enough about the great families to be able to make more use of them than they would make of him.¹³⁾

Lattimore finds that the founder of the Former Han dynasty, Liu Pang, the founder of the Later Han dynasty, Liu Hsiu, and the founder of the Ming dynasty, Chu Yüan-chang, fit into his pattern, and claims that the same applies to an unspecified number of founders of minor dynasties.¹⁴⁾ He admits that Liu Hsiu, the future Emperor Kuang-wu (r. 25–57), was of imperial blood, adding: In this case, however, there had been a usurpation (by Wang Mang, r. 9–23) which threatened all members of the imperial clan with the danger of being put to death. Also, Liu Hsiu was for a time an official under Wang Mang — a position which must have been extremely insecure. All this made him desperate enough to strike out boldly.¹⁵⁾

Considering first Lattimore’s arguments concerning Liu Hsiu, it is simply untrue that all members of the imperial clan were in danger of being put to death. Wang Mang merely deprived them of their hereditary titles and fiefs, and thereafter showed remarkable restraint toward the former imperial house. After A.D. 9, the Liu clan held its peace until 22, being neither threatened by nor threatening Wang Mang. Liu Hsiu was not in an extremely insecure position as an official of Wang Mang, because he never held an office at all. He lived in luxury on the clan estate in Nan-yang, and, at times, in Wang Mang’s capital Ch’ang-an. When he eventually, and at first in a very minor role, participated in the uprising of A.D. 22, he was not motivated by desperation.¹⁶⁾

But even discounting the case of Liu Hsiu, Lattimore’s dynastic cycle is not

supported by the facts of Chinese history. Great clans, far from being paralyzed by guilt-ridden fears and unwilling to expose themselves in times of civil war, participated actively in the conflicts. Peasant leaders did not, as a rule, wish to create a new kind of China, striving instead for influence within the old order. The poor did not turn against all government. The peace established by a new dynasty was not usually a peace of exhaustion. The majority of Chinese dynasty founders was not hangers-on of the old order, but actual members of it. Not every Chinese dynasty has risen out of a period of war. Reclamation of land was not a cyclical but a continuous, linear process, due to internal migrations and population growth. Not all dynasty founders were ruthless, nor last emperors often vicious and always weak.

Still another explanation for the rise and fall of dynasties has been sought in *imperial degeneration*. According to Reischauer-Fairbank, "the imperial line invariably degenerated. The dynastic founder naturally had to be a man of great ability and force, and his original drive was likely to carry on for generations. Later rulers, raised in a luxurious and intrigue-ridden court, were more likely to be weaklings . . . in general all the imperial lines showed a downward trend in ability, particularly in their last century of rule."¹⁷) Fairbank remarks elsewhere that "Wine, women, and song at the court led to increasing personal weakness of the rulers."¹⁸) Leaving song aside, some emperors undoubtedly were alcoholics. But alcoholism was a personal matter and not connected with the rise and fall of dynasties. I suspect that the advocates of imperial degeneration have simply been misled by the historiographic practice of untruthfully depicting rulers who forfeited the Mandate of Heaven as incompetent libertines, whereas the pleasures of wine and women are not stressed for successful emperors. When the civil war began to turn against Wang Mang, he was, according to the historian, "daily in the harem . . . giving himself up to lustful pleasures."¹⁹) The Keng-shih Emperor (r. 23-25) is stated to have spent days and nights drinking with the women of his harem, and often to have been too drunk to give audience.²⁰) These were emperors who lost their thrones. The founder of Later Han, if we can trust the dynastic historian, worked day and night on the affairs of state.²¹) But if he had not occasionally given himself up to "lustful pleasures", he would not have fathered as many as sixteen children. "Personal weakness of the rulers" may therefore often be due to historiographic misrepresentation.

As to the detrimental effect of having been raised in a "luxurious and intrigue-ridden court", this is neither as simple as suggested by Reischauer-Fairbank. It is true that from 156 to 7 B.C. all Former Han emperors, with one exception, were brought up at the court, and that the reign of the exception, Emperor Hsüan (r. 73-48), was probably the best during that part of the dynasty. But the situation is the exact reverse in Later Han times. Considering the period from A.D. 107 to 220,²²) three child emperors (Ch'ung, Chih, Shao), whose nominal reigns lasted for less than thirteen months combined, may be excluded. Among the remaining five rulers, only two (Shun, Hsien) were raised at the court.

The other three (An, Huan, Ling), although enthroned at the relatively young ages of twelve, fourteen, and twelve respectively, did not belong to the main line of the imperial house and had spent their formative years outside the palace. Yet it was Shun's reign which was the best during the last century of Later Han, even though he spent his entire life at the supposedly corrupting court.

Lastly, there is to be considered the theory of a *fiscal or economic-administrative cycle*, which has been attributed to Wang Yü-ch'üan.²³⁾ Fairbank summarizes it as follows: "One process which seems to have appeared in each dynasty was the progressive withdrawal of land from taxation, for the benefit of the ruling official class and to the detriment of the imperial revenues. At the beginning of a dynasty the land and the population were usually estimated and recorded in a rough sort of census. New tax registers could be used as a firm basis for revenue collection. As time went on there ensued a struggle between the interests of the imperial government and of the individuals who dominated it. Gradually the ruling class was able to increase their (sic!) landholdings and to remove them from taxation by various expedients such as the destruction of tax registers, official connivance, or legal falsification. This created a vicious spiral in which a greater burden was placed upon the land of the peasantry which still paid taxes, at the same time that the demands of the government for revenue were likely to increase. In this way a progressively smaller proportion of the land was expected to pay a progressively larger amount of revenue. Peasant disorders eventually resulted."²⁴⁾ Reischauer-Fairbank dwell on the economic-administrative cycle at some length, claiming that when the burden on the tax-paying peasants had been increased to the breaking point, peasant uprisings followed, the economy of the empire collapsed, the old regime was liquidated, and a new dynastic beginning took place.²⁵⁾

This theory looks deceptively simple and reasonable, but it is not supported by what is known about the economy of, for instance, the Han dynasties. Let us see how the peasantry during those times was affected by taxation.

The main taxes were the poll tax and the land tax. The former was imposed on adult males and females aged fifteen to fifty-six. Although its early history is somewhat obscure, the poll tax was with certainty reduced by 30 cash in 52 B.C.,²⁶⁾ and by another 40 cash in 31 B.C.;²⁷⁾ and from the last-mentioned year until the end of Later Han it remained stable at 120 cash (=2.928 grams of gold) per annum.²⁸⁾ There also existed a poll tax on children, which may have been introduced by Emperor Wu (r. 140-87). It was levied on children aged three to fourteen at the annual rate of 20 cash (=0.488 grams of gold). Emperor Wu raised the rate to 23 cash in order to provide horses for the army, but it seems to have been reduced again to 20 cash in 79 B.C.²⁹⁾ In 44 B.C., the tax base was narrowed to apply only to children aged seven to fourteen.³⁰⁾ The land tax was fixed by the first Han emperor at the rate of 1/15 of the produce. In 168 B.C., the rate was temporarily lowered to 1/30.³¹⁾ In 167 B.C. the land tax was abolished

altogether.³²) It was reintroduced in 156 B.C. at the rate of 1/30,³³) and remained at that level for the rest of Former and Later Han.

The military tax, far from being a burden, may have been beneficial to the average peasant household. It consisted of 300 cash (=7.32 grams of gold) per month, and was paid by those who did not wish to serve as military conscripts.³⁴) The tax was used for hiring substitutes. Since peasants could serve as substitutes, the military tax was an opportunity for income.

This leaves the indirect taxes under the state monopolies. The monopolies on salt and iron were formally established in 117 B.C. and, with brief interruptions, remained in force for the rest of Former and Later Han. The monopoly on fermented liquor was introduced in 98 B.C. but abolished in 81 B.C. The one of the monopolies which affected the peasants most directly was that on salt. Significantly, the government reduced the price of salt in 66 B.C.³⁵)

It is clear, in summary, that the chief taxes of the Han peasantry, the poll and land taxes, did not steadily increase, but, on the contrary, were first reduced and then remained unchanged throughout the dynasties. There was no vicious circle where greater and greater burden was placed on the peasants, until, after the breaking point, they had to rebel.³⁶)

I do not wish to deny that the government was on the lookout for increased revenues. But this was not achieved by pressing the peasants harder, other than through occasional and temporary taxes.³⁷) Funds were raised by widening the base of taxation, by tapping such resources as fishermen, hunters, professional men, and, particularly, merchants, and by selling offices and noble titles.

It might be argued that local officials, rather than the government, enriched themselves through extortion of additional taxes from the peasants. This is most improbable, since it would have been too dangerous. Any extraordinary levy would eventually have been discovered, and punishment for corruption was harsh. It is more likely that dishonest officials falsified the tax registers. This enabled them to embezzle some of the taxes which had been collected at the regular rate. The government treasury would have suffered from such practices. The peasants did not.

One would, of course, like to know something about prices in Han times and how these affected a peasant household. It so happens that, apart from years of gluts or bad harvests, the value of grain seems to have been extraordinarily stable. One *hu* (=19.968 liters) of unhusked grain sold on the average for 70 to 80 cash (=1.708 to 1.952 grams of gold) during Former Han, and for 100 cash (=2.44 grams of gold) during Later Han.³⁸) The government tried to stabilize the prices of major commodities in order to protect the peasants, and it regularly granted tax relief to regions which had been struck by natural disasters. In addition, the peasant households probably produced most of what was needed for daily life, with the exception of salt, condiments, and iron implements. They may therefore have been relatively immune to price fluctuations.

If none of the cyclical theories stands up to close scrutiny, it might still be

argued that the common denominator for Chinese dynasties remains to be found, and that the approach as such has not been discredited. To settle this question, I propose to interpret the historical materials by the quantitative method, rejecting imagination and letting the sources speak for themselves. It is not necessary for this purpose to make an immediate study of all major dynasties, i.e. Former Han, Later Han, Chin, T'ang, Sung, Ming, and Ch'ing. If a dynastic cycle exists at all, it must have operated in all of them. It should be enough, therefore, to investigate whether events or phenomena recur in the same sequence during any two of the dynasties.

I propose to base my test on the Former and Later Han dynasties. It is obvious, of course, that the Later Han, as always has been done, must be considered a dynasty in its own right. Although using the name of its predecessor and paying lip service to a restoration, it was a new dynasty in fact. All dynasties continued, but also modified, the basic institutions which they had inherited. That is true about the Later Han. It is also true that, while the founder was a Liu, his relation to the main line of the former imperial house was very distant; and his victory brought a new elite to power whose clans had not been influential during Former Han. This means that we have the ideal opportunity of comparing two dynasties which not only are close to each other in time, but also lasted for about 200 years each.

The approach we should use is the one advocated by Yang Lien-sheng in his article on configurations in Chinese history: "It is the duty of the historian to find out how the cooperative and conflicting forces worked under a dynasty. The study of dynastic configurations naturally leads one to the problem."³⁹) The question arises what kind of configurations should be plotted in order to gain that deeper insight into the cooperative and conflicting forces. We may be guided by the statement of Reischauer-Fairbank that the dynastic cycle seems mainly to be an economic-administrative one.⁴⁰) Discarding increasing fiscal pressure on the peasantry, which, as we have seen, does not fit the facts, it may still be argued that decreasing administrative efficiency would reduce the military power of the state, that this would lead to internal disturbances, and that this would encourage barbarian encroachments. As expressed by Reischauer-Fairbank: "Particularly during periods of civil war and military weakness, China seemed an irresistible attraction to these predatory neighbors."⁴¹) If there is a dynastic cycle at all, it must have had some effect on administrative efficiency, internal peace, and power relations with the barbarians. A cycle must reveal itself through similarities in the configurations plotted for these particular aspects of the two Han dynasties.

Since we are interested in century-long developments, all configurations will be calculated as moving averages of 11, based on 5-year periods. This blurs minor ups and downs and brings out secular trends. A word of warning is, however, in order. We are concerned with historical, not historiographic, phenomena. We want to know, as nearly as possible, what actually happened, and must discard

configurations which reveal the attitude of the historian rather than the facts of history. This problem is best illustrated by an example. It may, for instance, seem worthwhile to investigate whether there is a correlation between administrative efficiency and the number of edicts issued by the emperors or in their names. Listing all edicts mentioned in the imperial annals of the *Han shu* and *Hou Han shu* by 5-year periods and superimposing a moving average of 11, we obtain for Former Han the configuration in Graph 1. Graph 2 shows the corresponding configuration for Later Han. The trouble is that any conclusions based on the remarkable difference between the two configurations would be wide of the mark. The *Han shu* is a homogeneous work, and the configuration extracted from it has some historical significance. But the *Hou Han shu* is not homogeneous. It was compiled long after the Later Han archives had been destroyed, its main source being an earlier history, the *Tung-kuan Han chi*. The latter was originally written in five instalments, each by different authors. The first instalment covers the period until A.D. 57, the second 58 to 106, the third 107 to 146, the fourth 147 to 167, and the fifth 168 to 220. It so happens that the authors of the various instalments had ideosyncracies about quoting edicts and did so in different degree. This accounts for the strange, pyramidal shape of the curve in Graph 2. The average number of edicts per year quoted by the *Hou Han shu* in its section corresponding to the first instalment of the *Tung-kuan Han chi* is 1.3, the second 2.0, the third 1.8, the fourth 1.2, and the fifth 0.2. This does not mean that some compilers included less and others more information. It simply means that some restricted themselves to the mere listing of an enactment, such as for instance an amnesty, while others preferred to quote at least part of the edict in which the enactment was announced. Our configuration for Later Han throws therefore light on the technique of the compilers but not on the actual history of the period.

The first group of historical configurations I have drawn is for the purpose of measuring the *stability of the central government*. It stands to reason that the more often the highest officials were replaced, the more the efficiency of their ministries must have suffered. Conversely, the experience and authority of the high officials increased with longer incumbencies, and, assuming that these officials were competent (which they usually were), this must have improved the efficiency of the central government.

The highest officials in the career bureaucracy were the so-called Three Excellencies, followed by the Nine Ministers. The *Hou Han shu* does not provide a complete list of the Nine Ministers, but both histories give full information on the Three Excellencies. These senior officials were the Chancellor/Minister over the Masses,⁴²⁾ the Grand Commandant/Commander-in-chief,⁴³⁾ and the Grandee Secretary/Minister of Works.⁴⁴⁾ The histories, the *Han shu* in chapter 19B and the *Hou Han shu* in the imperial annals, record the times of their appointments, as well as the dates when they voluntarily resigned, were transferred to another office, or were dismissed. For our present purpose of studying the efficiency of the career bureaucracy, the position of Grand Commandant/Commander-in-

chief during Former Han must be excluded from the statistics. It was only sporadically filled at first, and then from 87 B.C. onward reserved for the political appointment of the regent. In Later Han times, the position was regularly filled with career officials, the regent from A.D. 89 being given the title of General-in-chief. However, the Later Han Commanders-in-chief/Grand Commandants should be left out from our calculations also in order to make the configurations for the two dynasties comparable. This leaves the Chancellors/Ministers over the Masses⁴⁵) and the Grandee Secretaries/Ministers of Works. I have listed the total number of their appointments for each 5-year period, and have then calculated the moving average. The higher the curve, the faster was the turnover in the ministries. We find in Graph 3 that the configuration for Former Han fluctuates for most of the dynasty at the same level and only increases somewhat toward the end of the period. The increase was mainly due to the many replacements under Emperor Ai (r. 6-1 B.C.). The curve shows that the administrative stability of the ministries, as measured by this particular method, remained more or less unchanged for all but the last years of Former Han.

The Later Han configuration is quite different. The curve starts on a higher level and almost immediately starts to climb steeply. Administrative stability deteriorated steadily, but then made a remarkable recovery. This final falling off of the curve is common for Later Han, although the improvement was not brought on by the dynasty. It was due to Ts'ao Ts'ao who was in the process of imposing his rule. A comparison of the configurations for Former and Later Han gives no sign of any parallel development. No dynastic cycle can be discerned.

Rapid replacement of ministers may, of course, be for more reasons than one. It could result from a deliberate imperial policy to reduce the power of the high officials in order to increase that of the throne. It might also be owing to a violent struggle between factions, raging over the heads of helpless or incompetent emperors. In either case, the stability and efficiency of the civil service must have suffered.

If we wish to study the power balance between the emperor and the bureaucracy, a supporting approach must be found which leads to less equivocal findings. One possible way is to determine the degree of *monopolisation of the ministries of the Three Excellencies* by a limited number of men. Should we find that during certain periods the highest offices time and again were filled by the same individuals, it means that such musical chairs gave less opportunity to lower-ranking civil servants to reach the top, and that power had been monopolised by a faction. Such a faction may have been a loyal supporter of the emperor or his rival for power.

To carry out this investigation, I have first listed the total number of appointments to the ministries of the Three Excellencies for each 5-years period. Secondly, I have for each 5-year period noted the total of all previous appointments to the three highest offices by the same incumbents. Thirdly, I

have for each 5-year period calculated the percentage of the second totals to the first. Fourthly, I have based the moving average on these percentages. In the resulting configuration, the degree of monopolisation will be revealed by the height of the curve. For the above-mentioned reasons, the ministry of the Former Han Grand Commandant/Commander-in-chief has been excluded, but the Later Han Commanders-in-chief/Grand Commandants may be included. The curves for the two dynasties will be comparable, since they are based on percentages.

Considering first the Former Han configuration in Graph 4, we notice the highest degree of monopolisation at the beginning of the dynasty. Emperor Kao came to power aided by a single faction of loyal followers, and as long as these were alive they received the chief ministries. The lowest degree of monopolisation occurred in the middle of the dynasty, when Emperor Wu saw to it that no ministers entrenched themselves for long. The curve then gradually rises again, since factions were trying to monopolise power, but it never returns to the level of the early period.

Graph 5 gives the corresponding configuration for Later Han. Emperor Kuang-wu did not gain victory together with a united group of supporters, but with the help of mutually hostile factions. In consequence, no single faction was strong enough to monopolise the highest offices at the beginning of the dynasty. Gradually, the process of monopolisation began, and reached much greater intensity than it had in Former Han times. Toward the end of Later Han, there was a sudden improvement imposed by Ts'ao Ts'ao.

One method of checking the last two configurations would be to study the *power struggle between the emperors and the high officials*. If an emperor wished to rule in fact as well as in name, and if the ministers were not loyal or subservient to him, a conflict was bound to arise. To break the spirit of the high officials, the emperor might then accuse them of various wrongdoings, execute them, or force them to commit suicide. The two configurations in Graphs 4 and 5 placed under those for the monopolisation of the ministries, bring out the tension between the throne and the career bureaucracy. For each 5-year period, I have listed all men who temporarily or permanently ended their careers as one of the Three Excellencies, have then taken the percentage of those who died a violent death (including suicide), and have finally based the moving average on the percentages. Again, the Grand Commandants/Commanders-in-chief are excluded for Former Han, while the Commanders-in-chief/Grand Commandants are included for Later Han.

We now discover that the two configurations for the monopolisation of high offices and for the power struggle between the emperors and the high officials compliment each other. At the beginning of Former Han, the ministers were the trusted assistants of the founder, and no need existed to reduce their power. The conflict arose toward the middle of the period. It is no coincidence that during reigns when emperors asserted themselves, particularly the one of Emperor Wu, monopolisation of the ministries was reduced to its lowest point. Toward the end

of Former Han, most emperors lost interest in personal government and did not clash with the high officials.

For Later Han, we get a similar correspondence. The founder was not in the fortunate position of Emperor Kao, and had to play one faction against the other. He was nevertheless determined to restrain the high officials and intimidated them in the usual manner. His immediate successor used the same method. But soon the factions began to fight freely for power, and the emperors interfered little in the government.

As far as the dynastic cycle is concerned, it should be noted that, while within each dynasty the configurations for the monopolisation of high offices and for the power struggle between the emperors and the high officials compliment each other, there is no trace of resemblance when Former and Later Han are compared. There is no evidence of cyclical repetition.

Another way of assessing the stability of the central government is to measure the indirect criticism levelled against it. Direct criticism was always risky, but indirect criticism relatively safe. The theory of the Mandate of Heaven led to the belief that “unnatural” events were warnings from Heaven against misgovernment. A critical official could therefore present a memorial in which he drew attention to one or another “unnatural” occurrence, such as eclipses of the sun, floods, droughts, earthquakes, monstrous births, unseasonal behaviour of plants, comets, and similar phenomena. Since the warning came, so to speak, from Heaven and not from him, he had little to fear for his own person. Only by being memorialised did an “unnatural” event become a portent, and the Prefect Grand Astrologer was in charge of keeping a complete list of them.⁴⁶) It is this catalogue which was copied by the dynastic historian. “Unnatural” phenomena which were not memorialised did not become portents, were not listed by the Prefect Grand Astrologer, and were not noted by the dynastic historian.⁴⁷) The court reacted often strongly to the memorialisation of portents. The emperor might ask experts to explain the significance of these phenomena, and he would even publicly assume the blame for them.⁴⁸) It follows that the memorialisation of portents was a political weapon in the struggle for power. This weapon might be used against the emperor himself, against his relatives, against high officials and men in his confidence, or against a faction.

The dynastic historian reproduced the catalogue of portents from the archives of the Prefect Grand Astrologer, with some overlapping, in three different sections of his history: the imperial annals, the Treatise on the Five Elements, and the Treatise on Astrology. This catalogue, which clearly dates all portents, permits us to measure the degree of discontent throughout the dynasties. It provides the statistical material for the next two configurations in Graph 6.

The curve for Former Han begins low, since there was little opposition to the founder of the dynasty. Indirect criticism increased swiftly during the reign of the Empress née Lü (r. 187–180) and again that of Emperor Ching (r. 156–141). It

declined in the middle of the dynasty but then steadily mounted until Wang Mang came to power.

The configuration for Later Han is different. This curve also, and for the same reason, begins low. But this time the peak is in the middle of the dynasty, with only some improvement under Emperor Shun. The drop at the end of the dynasty may be due for two reasons. Either the officials realized the futility of criticising the Han court, or the rise of Ts'ao Ts'ao had really brought some improvement. For our purpose it is important to observe that the two configurations are utterly dissimilar, and that no dynastic cycle can be discerned.

Next, we should try to measure whether there is a cyclical relation between decreasing administrative efficiency, reduced military power, and barbarian encroachments. Insufficient military strength can be determined from a listing of all years during which Chinese bandits and rebels were not deterred from fighting government forces. The highest figure for a 5-year period would consequently be 5. In the resulting configuration of Graph 7, peaks mean internal unrest and, except for the beginning of a dynasty, reduced military vigilance and vigour of the central government.

The curve for Former Han starts fairly high and then plunges to a low level. This is to be expected, since in the foundation period peace was only gradually restored. During the major part of the dynasty, the curve remains low, rising somewhat toward the end, and then subsiding again. The curve for Later Han also drops at first, but thereafter steadily goes up. Civil disturbances increased persistently, without any improvement during the last years of the dynasty. The two configurations are quite different, nor do they show any correlation with Graph 3 for the efficiency and stability of the central government. Where at the end of Former Han inefficiency increased, we find that civil disturbances decreased. Where at the end of Later Han inefficiency decreased, we find that civil disturbances multiplied.

That leaves the question of China's *power relation with the barbarians*. We can restrict ourselves to the barbarians outside the northern border in its widest sense, namely the Tibetans, Hsiung-nu, Hsien-pi, Wu-huan, and Koreans, because it was the north which harboured aggressive tribes. Plotting configurations in the same manner as we have done for civil unrest in China, we list all years during which fighting occurred with northern barbarians on Chinese soil. Excluded are all cases where the Chinese were on the offensive and fought the barbarians beyond the Chinese border. As shown in Graph 8, the Former Han curve fluctuates on more or less the same level for half of the dynasty and then gradually falls. The curve for Later Han goes down at first, thereafter forms a rounded peak, and finally drops sharply. The two configurations do not show the slightest resemblance to each other, nor to the curve in Graph 7 for civil unrest in China. When China had internal peace during Former Han, barbarian encroachments increased. When toward the end of that dynasty internal disturbances increased, barbarian raids fell off. The Later Han curves for

internal disturbances and barbarian raids coincide at first, but then diverge even more. Although the civil war in China grew more and more intense, barbarian attacks became fewer and fewer.

The evidence provided by the various configurations will now enable us to answer our initial question. All configurations prove interesting in themselves, and, within each dynasty, they reveal cooperative and conflicting forces. But when they are compared dynasty by dynasty, we discover difference rather than similarity, diversity rather than conformity. There is no trace of a dynastic cycle. In short, the cycle is a chimera which has done harm to the interpretation of Chinese history.

NOTES

- 1) J. K. Fairbank, *The United States and China*, New York 1971, p. 91.
- 2) E. O. Reischauer and J. K. Fairbank, *East Asia. The Great Tradition*, Boston 1958 and 1960.
- 3) *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- 4) *Ibid.*, pp. 115–118.
- 5) *Ibid.*, p. 188.
- 6) *Ibid.*, p. 204.
- 7) *Ibid.*, p. 211.
- 8) *Ibid.*, p. 390.
- 9) Ch'en Ta, *Population in Modern China*, New York 1974, p. 4.
- 10) See my "The Census of China during the Period 2–742 A.D.". In *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol. 19, 1947, pp. 125–163.
- 11) O. Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, Boston 1962, pp. 531–552.
- 12) *Ibid.*, p. 531.
- 13) *Ibid.*, pp. 537–538.
- 14) *Ibid.*, p. 539.
- 15) *Ibid.*, pp. 539–540.
- 16) See my *Restoration of the Han Dynasty*, vol. I. In *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol. 26, 1954, pp. 1–209.
- 17) *Op. cit.*, pp. 115–116.
- 18) *The United States and China*, p. 93.
- 19) *Han shu*, 100 chüan. By Pan Ku (32–92). *Ch'ien Han shu pu-chu* edition by Wang Hsien-ch'ien (1842–1917), Ch'ang-sha 1900 (henceforth abbreviated HS), 99C:20b. See also H. H. Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty. Translation*, vol. III, Baltimore 1955, pp. 439–440.
- 20) *Hou Han shu*, 120 chüan. By Fan Yeh (398–446). *Hou Han shu chi-chieh* edition by Wang Hsien-ch'ien, Ch'ang-sha 1923 (henceforth abbreviated HHS), lieh-chuan 1:4b.
- 21) HHS pen-chi 1B:23a.
- 22) Emperors An (r. 107–125), Shun (r. 126–144), Ch'ung (r. 145), Chih (r. 146), Huan (r. 147–168), Ling (r. 168–189), Shao (r. 189), Hsien (r. 190–220).
- 23) See his article "The Rise of the Land Tax and the Fall of Dynasties in Chinese History". In *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 9, 1936, pp. 201–220.
- 24) *The United States and China*, pp. 93–94.
- 25) *Op. cit.*, pp. 117–118.
- 26) HS 8:21b.
- 27) HS 10:3b.
- 28) See also Kato Shigeru, "A Study of the suan-fu, the Poll Tax of the Han Dynasty". In *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, vol. 1. 1926, pp. 51–68.
- 29) See also N. L. Swann, *Food & Money in Ancient China*, Princeton 1950, pp. 369, 374.
- 30) HS 72:13a.
- 31) HS 4:14a.
- 32) HS 4:14b.
- 33) HS 5:3a.
- 34) See M. Loewe, *Records of Han Administration*, vol. I *Historical Assessment*, Cambridge 1967, p. 81.
- 35) HS 8:11a.
- 36) Even if we were to consider Wang Mang's reign as the end of the Former Han cycle, it would not save the argument. The peasant uprisings which led to his fall were not brought on by fiscal pressure but by the cumulative effects of a change in the course of the Yellow River.

³⁷⁾ For instance, from 15 to 7 B.C. a tax in kind was imposed, consisting of 20 head out of each 1000 horses, cattle, and sheep. See Swann, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

³⁸⁾ See Lao Kan, *Chü-yen Han-chien k'ao-shih k'ao-cheng*, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Li-chuang 1944, 1:20a-23a. Cf. also p. 154, note 47 of Yang Lien-sheng, "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty". In *Studies in Chinese Institutional History, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies*, vol. 20, Cambridge 1961, pp. 119-197.

³⁹⁾ "Toward a Study of Dynastic Configurations in Chinese History". In *Studies in Chinese Institutional History, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies*, vol. 20, Cambridge 1961, pp. 1-17. The reference is to p. 17.

⁴⁰⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁴¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁴²⁾ The title of Chancellor was changed to Grand Minister over the Masses in 1 B.C., and to Minister over the Masses in A.D. 51.

⁴³⁾ The title of the Grand Commandant was changed to Commander-in-chief in 119 B.C., and again to Grand Commandant in A.D. 51.

⁴⁴⁾ The Grandee Secretary was from 8 to 5 B.C. and again from 1 B.C. replaced by the Grand Minister of Works, whose title was shortened to Minister of Works in A.D. 51.

⁴⁵⁾ Where the ministry was temporarily divided, only the senior appointment has been considered.

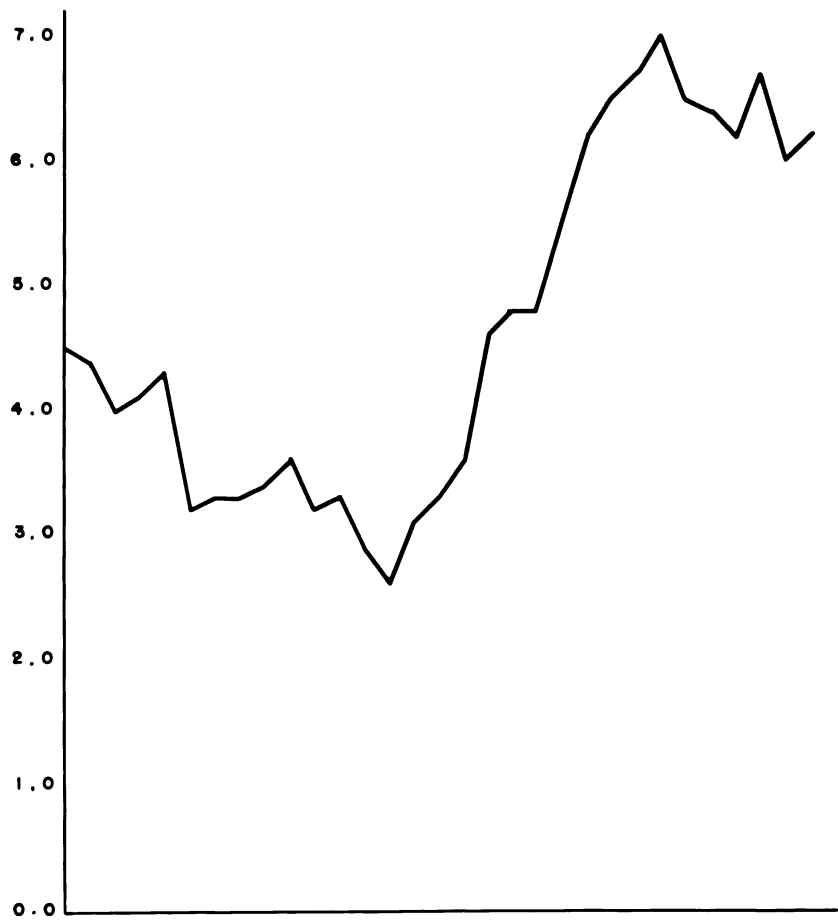
⁴⁶⁾ HHS chih 25:1b.

⁴⁷⁾ Consequently it is impossible to make true statistics on floods and droughts as has been attempted by Yao Shan-yu, "The Chronological and Seasonal Distribution of Floods and Droughts in Chinese History, 206 B.C.-A.D. 1911." In *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 6, pp. 273-312. The sources do not reveal the frequency of floods and droughts but the frequency of discontent with the government.

⁴⁸⁾ Cf. my "An Interpretation of the Portents in the Ts'ien-Han-shu". In *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol. 22, 1950, pp. 127-143.

NUMBER OF EDICTS

FORMER HAN



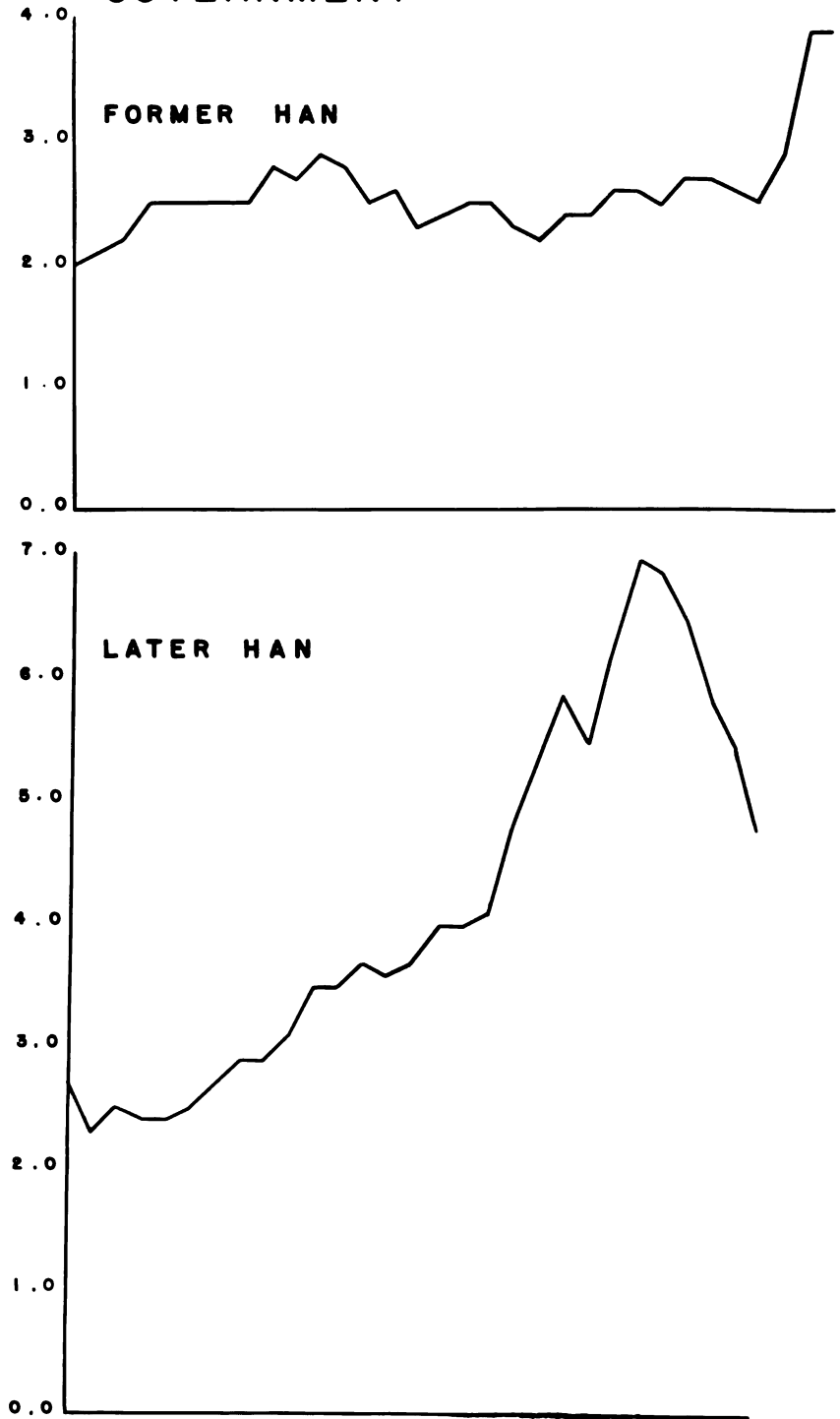
Graph 1

NUMBER OF EDICTS



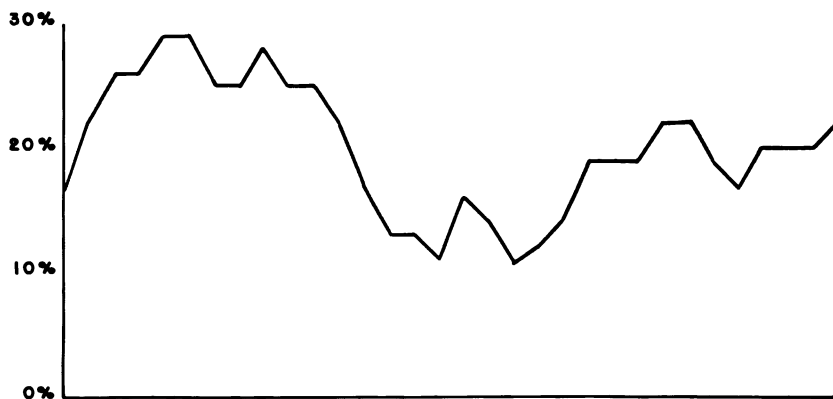
Graph 2

STABILITY OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT



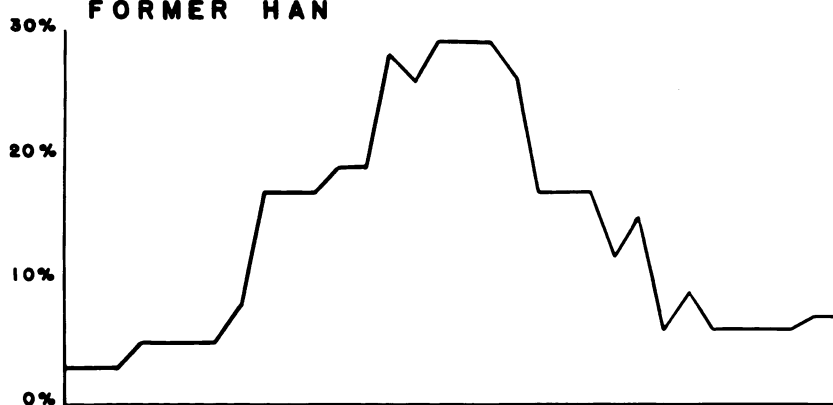
MONOPOLISATION OF HIGH OFFICES

FORMER HAN



EMPEROR AGAINST HIGH OFFICIALS

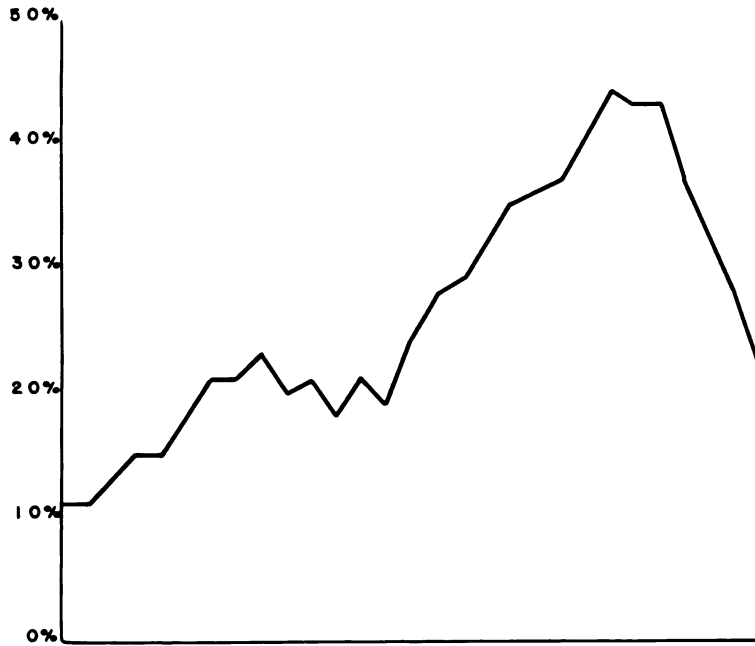
FORMER HAN



Graph 4

MONOPOLISATION OF HIGH OFFICES

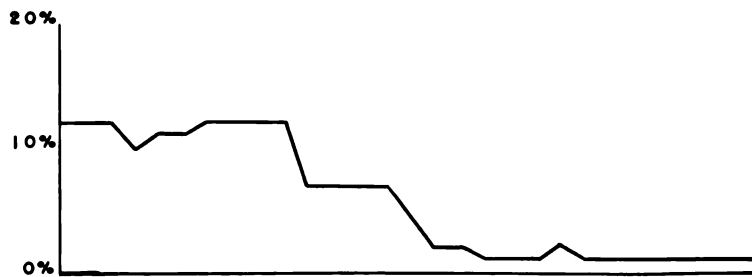
LATER HAN



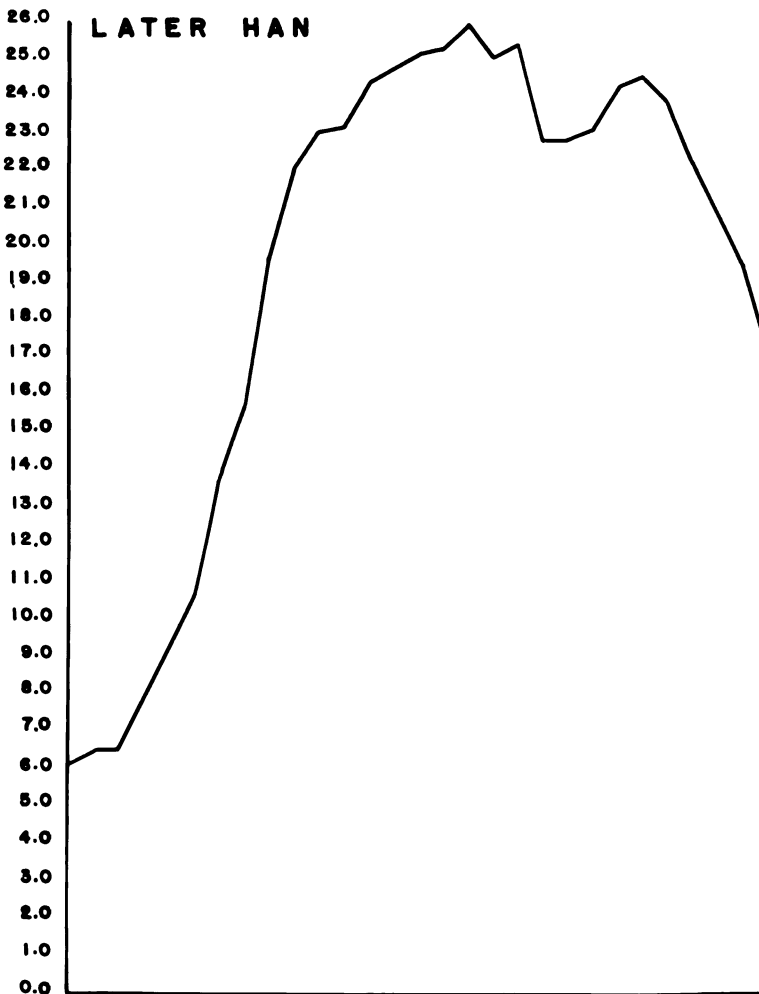
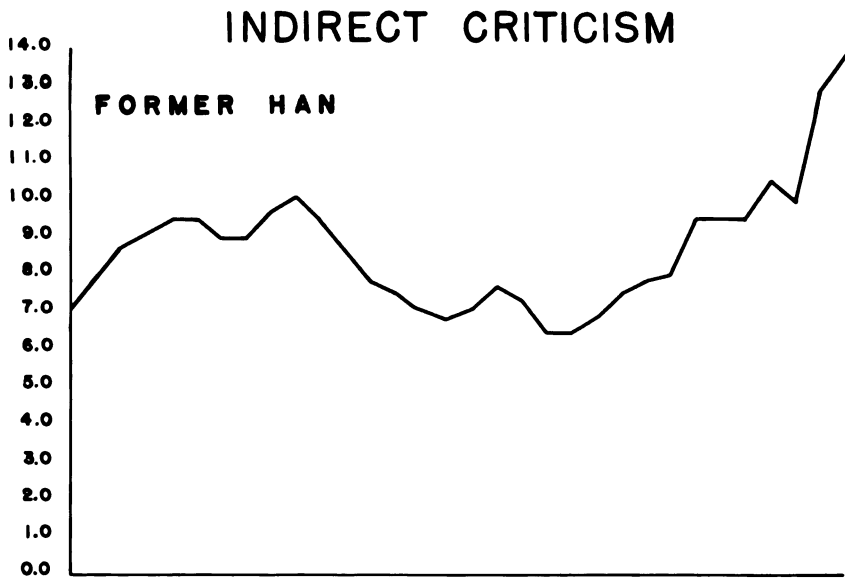
EMPEROR AGAINST HIGH

OFFICIALS

LATER HAN



Graph 5



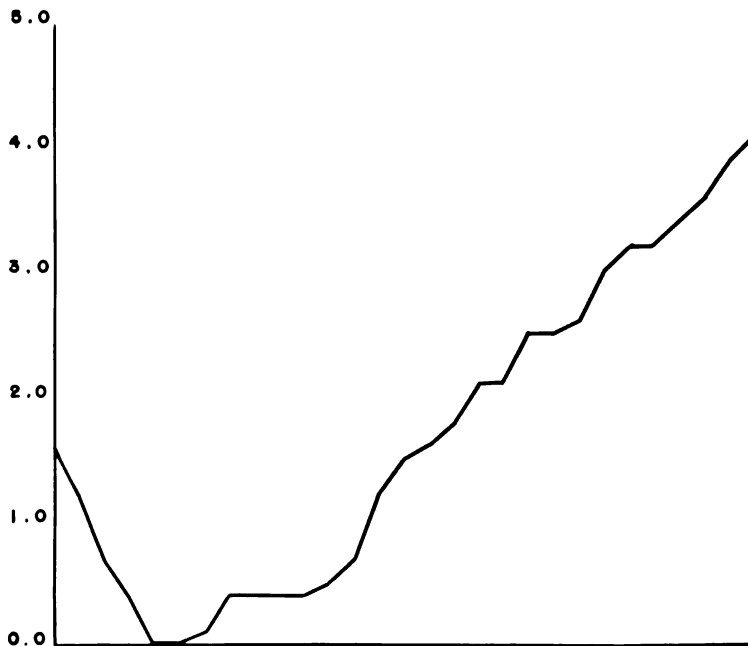
Graph 6

BANDITRY AND UPRISINGS

FORMER HAN



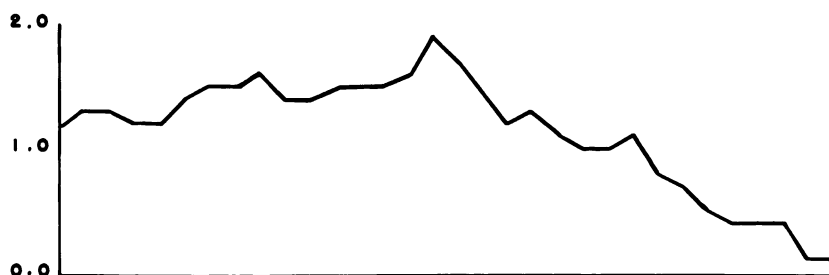
LATER HAN



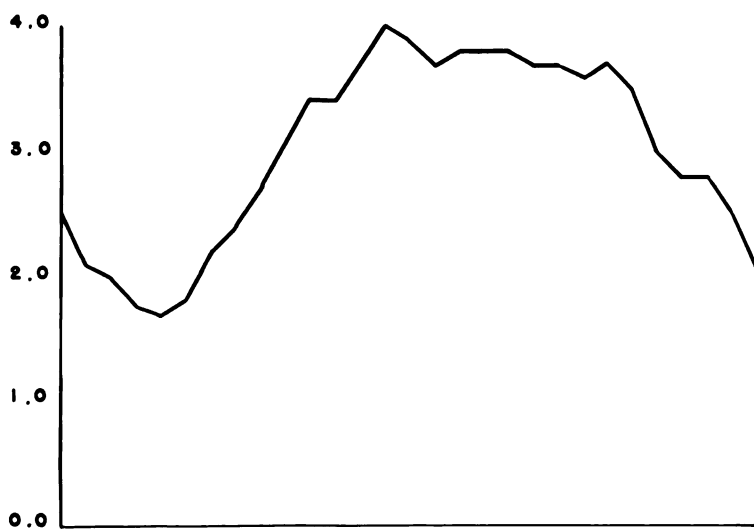
Graph 7

POWER RELATION WITH NORTHERN BARBARIANS

FORMER HAN



LATER HAN



Graph 8

EIGHT IMMORTALS CROSSING THE SEA

by

SVEN BROMAN

Eight Immortals Crossing the Sea is a Chinese shadow theatre libretto (pages 40–44) containing an amusing story about the Eight Immortals and their clash with the Dragon King of the Western Sea. The Eight Immortals are well-known celebrities in Chinese art and literature. They are convivial individuals moving freely around and happily addicted to wine. Their group consists of:

Han Chung-li

— a recluse of the *Han* dynasty. His symbol is the feather fan.

Li T'ieh-kuai

— a sage, whose symbol is the magic gourd.

Lan Ts'ai-ho

— a woman or an hermaphrodite, fond of improvising songs. Her emblem is the lute.

Chang Kuo-lao

— a hermit of *Shensi* possessing a white mule which could travel a thousand *li* in a day. His emblem is a musical instrument resembling a bag of golf clubs.

Lü Tung-pin

— a philosopher and moralist of *Shansi*. His emblem is the fly whisk.

Han Hsiang-tzu

— a youth of the *Han* dynasty. His emblem is the basket, filled with flowers, or with peaches.

Ts'ao Kuo-chiu

— a brother of an empress of the 9th and 10th century A.D. His emblem is a tablet of admission to the imperial court.

Ho Hsien-ku

— a woman of the *T'ang* dynasty. Her emblem is the lotus flower. (Plates 1–4.)

The story itself is simple, although the text is quite difficult to comprehend and to decipher, as it contains a lot of mistakes as to grammar and writing of the Chinese characters. The original sources are not at my disposal but I find it stimulating as a sinologue to attempt to render a free translation or interpretation of the text in question.

Eight Immortals Crossing the Sea belongs to a set of Chinese shadow theatre libretti (H 2905) now in the collections of the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden in Stockholm. In 1931 Dr. Gösta Montell purchased the set in Peking. The libretti are all written by hand by semi-literate Chinese in the beginning of this century, and they are of great importance for all of us who are interested in Chinese theatre.

Shadow theatre is a popular form of drama in many parts of the world. There are various theories and speculations concerning its origin. We have, however, definite proofs of its existence in China as early as for the *Sung* dynasty (960–1279 A.D.). The Chinese shadow theatre is a folk art, loved by all classes of society, and it is represented by various schools, of which the *Peking* one is the best-known.

The plays are accompanied by speech, recitations, singing and music. The stage consists of poles and planks and a central screen of mulberry paper draped round with colourful curtains. Figures and scenery are placed and manipulated against the back of the screen. The theatre has in general a repertoire of 100 or more plays, based on folklore, legends and history.

Eight Immortals Crossing the Sea

Character types:

Eight Immortals
Eight water spirits
Dragon King
Yaksha
Water soldiers
Chin Hsing

*

The Eight Immortals (enter and recite)

“We, Immortals, are free from anxiety and live happily in our paradise. Every day when the sky is clear, we mount on clouds to roam around.” 1.

Han Chung-li

“I am *Han Chung-li*.”

Lü Tung-pin

"I am *Lü Tung-pin*."

Chang Kuo-lao

"I am *Chang Kuo-lao*."

Li T'ieh-kuai

"I am *Li T'ieh-kuai*."

Lan Ts'ai-ho

"I am *Lan Ts'ai-ho*."

Ts'ao Kuo-chiu

"I am *Ts'ao Kuo-chiu*."

Ho Hsien-ku

"I am *Ho Hsien-ku*."

Han Hsiang-tzu

"I am *Han Hsiang-tzu*." 2.

Han Chung-li

"Immortals, listen to me." 3.

The Immortals

"Yes, we will."

Han Chung-li

"Today is *Shou Hsing's* birthday and we had better decide what presents we are going to give him." 4.

The Immortals

"Yes, let us do so." 5.

Han Chung-li (sings)

"Before we leave *P'eng lai shan*, we have to talk about our birthday presents." 6.

(speaks)

"I will give him snow-white pills of immortality." 7.

Lü Tung-pin (speaks)

"I will give him wine cups of jade adorned with red gold." 8.

Chang Kuo-lao (speaks)

"I will give him fresh dates from *Fo sang*." 9.

Li T'ieh-kuai (speaks)

"I will give him a one thousand year old root-stock of lotus, the flowers of which have a peculiar fragrance." 10.

Lan Ts'ai-ho (speaks)

"I will sing a song and give him large white juicy pears." 11.

Ts'ao Kuo-chiu (speaks)

"I will give him trays, filled with chrystallized fruit and wish him a long life without end." 12.

Ho Hsien-ku

"I have woven a beautiful silk brocade, of which he can make a colourful dress." 13.

Han Hsiang-tzu

"I alone have nothing to give him but I will recite a birthday poem that concerns all of us." 14.

"Every now and then good fortune comes down from Heaven ..."

The Immortals (interrupt)

"What comes down from Heaven?"

Han Hsiang-tzu (continues)

"... and gives us longevity as high as the mountain and happiness as deep and wide as the sea and the sky. Father and son will earn their living at the same court. Elder and younger brothers will rejoice in your continuance in office. One thousand grains of cereals will increase prosperity and a surplus of grain in the granary will make you still wealthier."

"If you do not believe me, you will find these words in my flower basket." 15.

The Immortals

"We believe you."

(speak)

"We would now like to have a look at your elegant birthday present." 16.

Han Hsiang-tzu

"Shake my flower basket and you will then see these words in the air." 17.

The Immortals

"Yes, we see them now."

Han Hsiang-tzu

"Recite the poem for me."

The Immortals (recite)

"Every day is clear and bright. Every now and then good fortune comes down from Heaven. When the country is prosperous and the people at ease, the Way rules Heaven. When the weather is favourable for raising crops, the land is fertile. When husband and wife live in harmony, their home is full of happiness. When the son is filial, the generations will be numerous. Do not say, that the wind coming through the valley has nothing to offer. The five bats in the central hall chirp loudly." 18.

Han Hsiang-tzu

"What a beautiful birthday poem. But let us now joyfully proceed." 19.

The Immortals

"Yes, let us do so."

"May life be as endless as the sea is deep."

Li T'ieh-kuai

"This gourd is magic." 20.

(exeunt)

(enter)

"When travelling we overcome all obstacles on the road. We know how to use our magical power. Our magic and age are inexhaustible. We are namely Immortals." 21.

Han Chung-li

"I am *Han Chung-li*."

Lü Tung-pin

"I am *Lü Tung-pin*." 22.

Chang Kuo-lao

"I am *Chang Kuo-lao*."

Li T'ieh-kuai

"I am *Li T'ieh-kuai*."

Lan Ts'ai-ho

"I am *Lan Ts'ai-ho*."

Ts'ao Kuo-chiu

"I am *Ts'ao Kuo-chiu*."

Ho Hsien-ku

"I am *Ho Hsien-ku*."

Han Hsiang-tzu

"I am *Han Hsiang-tzu*."

"Immortals, listen to me. It is *Shou Hsing*'s birthday today and we shall go and forward our congratulations to him. Are our birthday presents ready?" 23.

The Immortals

"They have been ready for quite some time now." 24.

Han Hsiang-tzu

"When we cross the sea today, we have to be extra careful."

The Immortals

"Yes, we will be careful."

Han Hsiang-tzu

"Let us then mount on our clouds and proceed." 25.

The Immortals

"Yes, let us do so."

(exeunt)

Eight water spirits (enter)

Li

"I can leap the dragon's gate." 26.

Pieh

"I am stout around the waist and my back is thick and my neck is long." 27.

Hsia

"Long beard befits an old man." 28.

P'ang

"A king should not move sideways as a crab." 29.

Ha

"My voice is thin and coarse and frightens Heaven and Earth." 30.

Fen Shui

"A pretty face with its delicate complexion adorns a beauty."

Nien

"My big mouth spurts water and nobody can stop that." 31.

Ko

"My head is hard and thus I am not afraid of swords and spears." 32.

Li

"I am *Li*, Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat." 33.

Pieh

"I am *Pieh*, Prime Minister." 34.

Hsia

"I am *Hsia*, Commander-in-chief." 35.

P'ang

"I am *P'ang*, military Governor." 36.

Ha

"I am *Ha*, Grand Master." 37.

Fen Shui

"I am *Fen Shui*, *Hsien tzu*." 38.

Nien

"I am the big-headed *Nien*, in charge of the vanguard." 39.

Ko

"I am *Ko*, Officer of the Royal Guard." 40.

Water spirits

"We are in attendance upon the Dragon King." 41.

Dragon King (on his throne)

"Nobody understands how my mind works. I can move clouds and produce rain. The Jade Emperor has appointed me Master of the Dragons. I am an Immortal without a worry and care in the world."

"I am *Ao Kuang*, the Dragon King of the Western Sea. The Jade Emperor has commanded me to guard the Western Sea and to move clouds and produce rain. I am an Immortal enjoying a free and leisurely life without restraint." 42.

(An iron plate is struck behind the stage)

Dragon King

"What noise is that? It gives me an headache."

Yaksha

"Master of the Dragons, I want to inform you that today the Eight Immortals are crossing the sea. In the middle of the sea *Lan Ts'ai-ho* started to strike a plate of iron while singing a song." 43.

Dragon King

"This abominable fellow. Water soldiers." 44.

Water soldiers

"We are at your command." 45.

Dragon King

"Take without delay *Lan Ts'ai-ho* to my palace to be punished for her crime." 46.

Water soldiers

"Yes, we obey your command." 47.

(The water soldiers enter and take *Lan Ts'ai-ho* down to the palace of the Dragon King)

(The seven Immortals enter)

Han Chung-li

"We have now crossed the sea but where is *Lan Ts'ai-ho*? Something must have happened to her. That is bad. Maybe the water soldiers have taken her away. We must return and save her."

The Immortals

"Yes, let us do so."

(exeunt)

(The Immortals behind the stage)

(shout)

"Water soldiers, listen to us. Take *Lan Ts'ai-ho* immediately back to us. If not, we will destroy the palace of the Dragon King and neither a fowl nor a dog will be left behind." 48.

Water soldiers

"Master of the Dragons, *Han Chung-li* and the other Immortals are now outside your palace demanding us to send back *Lan Ts'ai-ho* to them. If not, neither a fowl nor a dog will be left behind." 49.

Dragon King

"This is preposterous. Can such a thing as this be done? Water soldiers, leave without delay my palace and fight them with your swords and spears."

(exeunt)

(A great battle takes place. *Li T'ieh-kuai* enters. He is defeated but re-enters)

Li T'ieh-kuai

"Look. The more fish, turtles, prawns and crabs we kill, the more they are. What to do? Yes, I know. I will use my magic gourd and let its fire boil the water of the sea. Where will then the sea monsters go?"

(exit)

(The fire boils the water of the sea. *Chin Hsing*, mounted on a cloud, enters)

Chin Hsing

"Well, well. I am *Chin Hsing*. A battle is now going on between the Eight Immortals and the Dragon King of the Western Sea. I am afraid that there are casualties and that cannot be allowed. The Jade Emperor has ordered me to settle their dispute, so I had better hurry." 50.

(exit and re-enters)

(dismounts his cloud) 51.

"Immortals, listen to me. I am *Chin Hsing*. The Jade Emperor has commanded me to come here and settle your dispute. Stop at once the use of your magic. If you disobey, you may be banished by Heaven."

The Immortals

"We obey your command."

(enter)

"We want to thank you, Sir, for giving us the honour of your visit." 52.

Chin Hsing

"Thanks for your kind words. Dragon King, listen to me. Return *Lan Ts'ai-ho* immediately to us. I am leaving now."

(exit)

Dragon King

"I obey your command."

(exit)

Dragon King (behind the stage)

“Water soldiers, release *Lan Ts'ai-ho*.”

Water soldiers

“We obey your command.”

Han Hsiang-tzu

“Now *Lan Ts'ai-ho* is with us again. Let us then mount on our clouds and return home.”

COMMENTARY

The commentary contains notes and corrections of the original text. Numbers in brackets refer to the Index of Chinese characters.

1. The Eight Immortals. Werner, E. T. C.: A dictionary of Chinese mythology, Shanghai 1932, pp. 341–352.
Free from anxiety — *wu yu yu wu ch'ou* (1).
Live happily in our paradise — lit.: a soothing breeze passes daily through our paradise.
Soothing breeze — *ch'ing feng* (2).
Paradise — *yü lou* (3).
The sky — lit.: the blue sky — *pi hsiao* (4).
Is clear, i.e. appear — *hsien* (5).
Clear, i.e. secure, stable — *wen* (6).
Clouds — *wu yün* (7).
2. *Han Chung-li* (8).
Lü Shun-yang (9), i.e. *Lü Tung-pin*.
Lan Ts'ai-ho (10).
Ts'ao Kuo-chiu (11).
Ho Hsien-ku (12).
Han Hsiang-tzu (13).
3. Immortals — lit.: all Immortals — *chung* (14).
4. *Hsing Chün*, the Stellar Prince, refers to *Shou Hsing*, the God of Longevity.
Werner op. cit. pp. 431–432.
Birthday — *sheng tan* (15).
Our presents; should be read: *ta chia li wu*.
5. Yes, let us do so; lit.: What you are saying, is right.
Right — *li* (16).
6. *P'eng lai shan* is a famous Taoist paradise, where the Eight Immortals are said to live. Werner op. cit. p. 372.
Mountain — *shan t'ou* (17).
Before we leave; lit.: Before we stop the imperial carriage.
Imperial carriage — *luan chia* (18).
Presents — *li wu* (19).
7. *Chung-li* (20), i.e. *Han Chung-li*.
I — *wo* (21).
8. *Tung-pin* (22), i.e. *Lü Tung-pin*.

9. *Kuo-lao*, i.e. *Chang Kuo-lao*.
 Dates — *tsao* (23).
 Lit.: This kind of fresh dates — *che chung hsien tsao* (24).
Fo sang (25) — a name of a mythic island, usually interpreted as Japan.
10. *Kuai Li*, i.e. *Li T'ieh-kuai*.
 Root-stock of the lotus — *ou* (26).
 Peculiar — *tu i* (27).
11. *Ts'ai-ho* (28), i.e. *Lan Ts'ai-ho*.
 Afterwards — *hou* (29).
 Pears — *li* (30).
 White — *hsüeh shuang* (31).
12. Chrystallized — *shuang* (32).
Chiao chu — lit.: founder of a religion.
 Long life — *shou* (33).
 Without end — *wu chiang* (34).
13. *Hsien-ku* (35), i.e. *Ho Hsien-ku*.
 Woven — *chih* (36).
T'ien Sun (37) or *Chih Nü* (38), the Weaving Damsel. Werner op. cit. pp. 73-75.
 To give — *yü* (39).
 A colourful dress — *ni shang* (40), worn by female dancers in a dance during the *T'ang* dynasty.
14. Alone — *tu* (41).
 To transmit — *chuan* (42).
 N.A. — *chang* (43).
15. As — *kung* (44).
 Cereals — *wu ku* (45).
 Sign of the comparative — *yüeh* (46).
 To prosper, increase — *wang* (47).
 To believe — *p'ing hsin* (48).
 Flower basket — *lan* (49).
16. To believe — lit.: to nod assent — *tien t'ou* (50).
 To agree — *ling chiao*.
 Elegant — *kuan mien* (51).
 We — *wo teng* (52), i.e. *wo men* (53).
 To like, to wish — *ch'ing yüan* (54).
17. Flower basket — *hua lan* (55).
 Please — *ch'ing* (56).
18. Prosperous — *t'ai* (57).
 Favourable weather for raising crops — *feng t'iao yü shun* (58).
 Wind coming through the valley — *ku feng* (59).
 A pun: *Wu fu* (60) — the five blessings; and *Wu fu* (61) — the five bats, emblematic of happiness.

19. Beautiful birthday poem; should be read — *hao shou shih*.
20. Gourd — *hu* (62).
Magic — *t'ien* (63).
21. Both, all — *ch'i* (64).
Inexhaustible — *wu ch'iung miao* (65).
22. Should be read: *Lü Tung-pin*.
23. Consider — *shang i* (66).
Ready — *ch'i pei* (67).
24. Time — *shih* (68).
25. Then — *chiu tz'u* (69).
26. To leap the dragon's gate — *kao t'iao lung men*.
To belong to — *shu* (70).
Power — *ch'iang* (71).
27. Stout around the waist — *yao yüan* (72).
Thick — *hou* (73).
Neck — *po* (74).
28. Beard — *hu hsü* (75).
To grow long — *chang ch'ang* (76).
29. To be able to — *neng* (77).
30. Thin — *po* (78).
Voice — *sang* (79).
To frighten — *ching* (80).
31. Mouth — *tsui* (81).
To stop — *tang* (82).
32. Spears — *ch'iang* (83).
33. Carp — *li* (84).
34. Turtle — *pieh* (85).
35. Prawn — *hsia* (86).
36. Crab — *p'ang* (87).
37. Frog — *ha* (88).
Should be read *Ta shih* (89) and not *Ta shuai*.
38. *Fen Shui*, unknown animal (90).
Hsien tzu, unknown title (91).
39. Big-headed *Nien* — *ta t'ou nien* (92), i.e. the big-mouthed *Parasilurus asotus*,
a kind of slippery long fish.
Hsien hang (93), lit.: vanguard.
40. Clam — *ko* (94).
Officer of the Royal Guard — *hu wei* (95).
41. Dragon King — *lung wang* (96).
Throne — *tso* (97).
42. Jade Emperor — *Yü Ti* — the chief god of the Taoist pantheon.
Werner op. cit. pp. 603-604.
Master of the Dragons — *lung chu* (98).

- Ao Kuang* should be controlling the Eastern Sea and *Ao Jun* the Western Sea.
 Werner op. cit, pp. 285-297.
 Nevertheless — *tao yeh* (99).
43. Yaksha — *yeh ch'a* (100).
44. This fellow — *che ssu* (101).
 Abominable — *k'o wu* (102).
45. Lit.: to scare — *ho (hsia)* (103).
46. To punish crime — *chih tsui* (104).
 Without delay — *pu te yu wu* (105).
47. We obey your command — *ng*.
48. *Li*, i.e. *Han Chung-li*.
 To save — *chieh chiu* (106).
 Then — *hai tao* (107).
 Final particle — *pa* (108).
 To destroy — *sha chin* (109).
49. Afterwards — *hou hsieh* (110).
50. *Chin Hsing* is the God of the Planet Venus, although *Tung-fang Shuo* is usually worshipped as such. Werner op. cit. pp. 482, 528-530, 543.
 Casualties — *shang huai* (111).
 To receive — *feng ch'eng* (112).
 To settle a dispute — *chiang ho* (113).
51. To dismount — *lo ti* (114).
52. To give ... the honour of your visit — *chia lin* (115).

INDEX OF CHINESE CHARACTERS

- | | | |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (1) 無憂又無愁 | (21) 我 | (41) 獨 |
| (2) 清風 | (22) 洞賓 | (42) 轉 |
| (3) 玉樓 | (23) 衆 | (43) 張 |
| (4) 碧霄 | (24) 這種鮮衆 | (44) 共 |
| (5) 現 | (25) 佛桑 | (45) 五穀 |
| (6) 穩 | (26) 藕 | (46) 越 |
| (7) 霧雲 | (27) 獨異 | (47) 旺 |
| (8) 漢鍾離 | (28) 采和 | (48) 憑信 |
| (9) 呂純陽 | (29) 後 | (49) 籃 |
| (10) 藍采和 | (30) 梨 | (50) 點頭 |
| (11) 曹國舅 | (31) 雪霜 | (51) 冠冕 |
| (12) 何仙姑 | (32) 霜 | (52) 我等 |
| (13) 韓湘子 | (33) 壽 | (53) 我們 |
| (14) 衆 | (34) 無疆 | (54) 情願 |
| (15) 聖誕 | (35) 仙姑 | (55) 花籃 |
| (16) 理 | (36) 織 | (56) 請 |
| (17) 山頭 | (37) 天孫 | (57) 泰 |
| (18) 鑒駕 | (38) 織女 | (58) 風調雨順 |
| (19) 禮物 | (39) 與 | (59) 谷風 |
| (20) 鍾離 | (40) 霓裳 | (60) 五福 |

(61) 五蝠

(62) 萌

(63) 天

(64) 齊

(65) 無窮妙

(66) 商議

(67) 齊備

(68) 時

(69) 就此

(70) 屬

(71) 強

(72) 腰圓

(73) 厚

(74) 脖

(75) 鬚鬚

(76) 長長

(77) 能

(78) 薄

(79) 嚙

(80) 驚

(81) 嘴

(82) 擋

(83) 鎗

(84) 鯉

(85) 鼈

(86) 蝦

(87) 螃

(88) 蛤

(89) 大師

(90) 分水

(91) 仙子

(92) 大頭鮎

(93) 先行

(94) 蛤

(95) 護衛

(96) 龍王

(97) 座

(98) 龍主

(99) 倒也

(100) 夜叉

(101) 這廝

(102) 可惡

(103) 嚇

(104) 治罪

(105) 不得有誤

(106) 解救

(107) 還倒

(108) 罷

(109) 殺盡

(110) 後些

(111) 傷壞

(112) 奉承

(113) 講和

(114) 落地

(115) 駕臨

六仙 仙家無憂又無愁 諸日清風滿玉樓

惟有碧消仙路穩 朝了常駕五雲遊 吾乃

汗鍾馗 吾乃呂純陽 吾乃張國老 吾乃李鐵拐 吾乃

彩賀 吾曾國舅 小仙和先姑 小仙郭湘子 重仙

請了請了 今有星君聖誕之辰 太礼家物欲先

說明 言之有礼 唱

須把那上壽礼勿共商量

此药生來似雪霜

重仙家
蓬萊山头停蓋駕
中离說丸長生藥
赤洞說几盃瓊漿酒

温涼玉蕊紫金粧 國老說赤猷几枝安期枣

只宗仙東出伏桑 揚李說小仙猷上千年偶

白蓮開放吐異香 宋賀說我先唱上一套曲

后有交梨代雪雙 國舅說我猷几盤双盛菓

礼慶教主寿云江 仙說我有猷就天孫錦

送与寿星作霓裳 朝 惟有小仙猷猷

肚轉诗词有一吟 斯文不為一人寿

普与人間降吉祥 降祥店 降他些寿同出永

賜予他福，海天長——父子同朝食柳值

兄弟二旁慶連方——千粟五穀多增盛

庫內餘糧月汪——仲仙若是不平信

四字現左藍內藏——(章) 章仙点头說領教

(白) 則是郭仙禮物官免亦等情原現——東位請看

代示將花，一抖空中結成普降吉祥四个大字——章

仙請看——好果然可現亦等領教——代示念素

(詩) 朝：日：有輝光——普與人間降吉祥

國太民安大有道

風調雨順地安江

大舍妻順家：樂

子孝孫孝代：長

莫道忘風俗物——獻

高吟五福卦中堂——

奇好詩句如大家前往——言之有禮——奇添海握

年：滿——甲子年中另有：下——(上八仙) 出家

容易修道難

奧妙玄機非偶然——奇與

大有玄旁妙

方是長生不老仙——出家人

汗鍾——吾洞呂賓——吾性國老——吾李鉄拐——吾

六采賀「吾曾國」小仙賀仙姑「小仙軒湘子」
東仙凌「」今有南極教主壽誕之辰大家
商議前去祝壽禮物可曾齊備俱以齊備多
時「今日過海大家須加小心才是」言之有礼
大家因此駕云前去「請下」永「怪站」高跳
龍門「屈咱強」腰元背后膀而長「胡須常長人
你老」橫行不止敢稱王「時粗噪大驚天地」笑
蓉粉美人粧「大咀噴水吞人」擋頭硬不怕刀

甫銓「吾乃里李士」吾鸞丞相「吾蝦大將軍」吾
螭督「吾蛤老丈」吾爹永仙子「吾大弄年先行」
吾蠅「位」龙王設坐在此伺候「出龙王坐」

龍王正神奧妙精

行云佈雨屈咱已

玉帝敕旨為號主

吾要安穩永長生

孤家西海龙王教廣是也奉玉帝敕旨鎮守西海
行云佈雨到也逍遙自在不老長生「內板响」呀
這是什瓜响亮振的孤家好生头疼「上夜」

又說主令有八仙過海呈來賀點在海心打極
歌唱這斯令召可惡水卒們將呈來賀採入
府至罪不得有誤下上車水卒把呈彩賀
採入水府上七仙離白大家過海素怎不見
呈仙走上莫非海心之中遭了不測代承昇來呀
不好了算的明白呈仙被水卒拾去大家回去
解就才是用此回法言之有礼下全內車水卒
所真快將呈仙大長送出水府送到罷了

若是不然赤進水府鴛鴦不由后此報就主得
今有汗鍾馗等來到水府以外快將呈來賀由
咱急送出若是不然鴛鴦不由哇呀！這還了
得車水卒一齊手執刀鎗赤出水府不得有誤下
大赤一陣上揚李戰敗又上呀你看魚鼈蝦蟹
月赤月多如何是好呀有了不免將水火葫蘆
盞而揭開冒出三昧真火將大海燒懷念有
個將葫蘆一拿真火冒出水怪那里走下 43

(大火燒海上金星駕云) 善哉！吾乃金星今有
 中八仙与西海龙王打鬧恐有伤怀那还了得
 奉子玉帝敕旨命他二人解念咒急去便了
 (下)(上)(洛地) 重仙听真吾乃金星奉玉帝敕旨
 前来湔合快些收了法术若要逞强恐遭天遣
 等法旨(上)(重仙) 多劳上仙驾临家等拜谢好说
 龙王听真快些送回吾神去也(下) 等法旨(下)
 (场内) 水卒们将老仙放他(下) 等法旨(下) 你看

老仙来也旧比驾云前去(下) 言之有礼(下)

燒海完



Han Chung-Li



Li T'ieh-kwai



Lan Ts'ai-ho



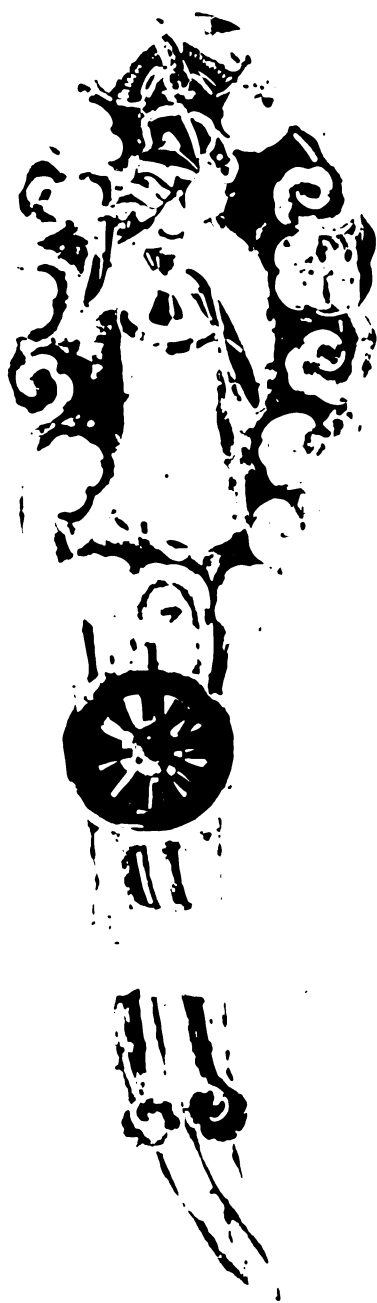
Chang Kuo-lao



Lü Tung-pin



Han Hsiang-tzu



Ts'ao Kuo-chiu



Ho Hsien-ku

AN ENGLISH-RADE VOCABULARY

by

SOREN EGEROD

Rade [ra^ʔde] or Ede [e^ʔde]¹⁾ is an Austronesian²⁾ language spoken by at least 100,000 people³⁾ in the highlands of Southern Vietnam bordering on Cambodia, inland West of Nha Trang.

The Rade word consists of one or two syllables. In a disyllabic word the vowel of the first (minor) syllable is always /a/ or /e/; or /ə/ which is, however, only marginally phonemic (/kəhə^ʔ/ 'hot' versus /khə^ʔ/ 'mad' is one of the few examples of a contrast /ə/ ≠ /zero/). There are many initial consonant clusters and a number of diphthongs.⁴⁾

There are the following initial consonants:

p	ph	b	^ʔ b	m	(f)	w
t	th	d	^ʔ d	n	s	(z) r
c	ch	j	^ʔ j	ñ	(š)	y
k	kh	g	^ʔ	ŋ	h	l

/^ʔb/, /^ʔd/, and /^ʔj/ are unit phonemes with simultaneous oral and glottal closure (implosives). Initial /^ʔ/ is left unwritten in most positions in our transcription, considered automatic before all initial vowels. Thus /ua/ is pronounced [^ʔua], different from /wa/ [wa]. /ph/, /th/, /ch/, and

1) My work with Rade took place in Tokyo in 1977-78. My informant was Mr. Y Blen Mlo born at Buon M'ua in 1952. I am grateful to The Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo Gaikokugo Daigaku, and to the Danish Research Council for the Humanities for support.

2) Thomas (1963)

3) Lebar (1964) 251-255

4) The details of the Rade phonology, present-day as well as historical, will be treated separately elsewhere by my colleague at the Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Dr. Shintani Tadahiko.

/kh/ are true aspirates and, as mentioned above, occasionally in minimum contrast with an initial cluster of /stop/ plus /h/, pronounced with or without an /ə/ preceding the /h/, but in open juncture different from aspirated stops. The voiced stops and voiced glottalized stops can be followed by /h/, which remains voiceless throughout, in open juncture concatenation, with or without a non-phonemic /ə/ preceding the /h/. The remaining consonant clusters likewise contain an optional /ə/, except that /tɫ/ and /dɫ/ cannot be thus dissolved. The phonemic status of /š/ is unstable. The informant believes that some words begin with /š/, but is unable to distinguish consistently between /š/ and /s/. The phoneme /š/ has been disregarded in the Vocabulary. /z/ is found only in loanwords from French (as /zapont/ 'Japanese') or English (as /zɛkmoni/ 'German'). Also /f/ is found in loanwords from French.

In final position we find the voiceless unaspirated stops, the nasals, /ʔ/ and /h/, as well as /l/ and /r/. We apply the vocalic symbols for the second element in vowel clusters (- i) and /- u/, not /- y/ and /- w/.

The vowels are:

i	ĩ	u
e	ə	o
ɛ	a	ɔ

In French loanwords occurs a front rounded [ü] (as in /pɛntüer/ 'paint').

Most diphthongs contain /i/ or /u/ as their first or second element. Words containing /ea/ or /oa/ can also be considered disyllabic (e.g. /ea/ 'water' and /soa'i/ 'mango'), in which case /o/ must be added to the vowels occurring in minor syllables. A few words contain vowel clusters with /ɔ/ as their second element /kreɔ/ (~ /kriɛu/) 'castrate' /tiɔ[?]/ 'chase'.

All vowels in open syllables (including the vowel in an open first syllable in a disyllabic word) are long or potentially long. In closed syllables long vowels are phonemically different from short ones and are marked with a raised point (e.g. /a[˙]/). In

diphthongs there is no contrast of long and short vowels, except that both /a/ and /a`/ are found as second vowel in diphthongs. As second vowel in diphthongs /e/ and /o/ tend towards /ə/ in closed syllables (but not in open syllables) and could be so written: /- iən - - ien/ and /- uən - - uon/ (but /- ie/ and /-uo/). In very careful pronunciation two triphthongs /iəu/ and /uəi/ occur in words more commonly rendered with the diphthongs /eo/ and /oe/ (as in /miəu - meo/ 'cat' and /kruəi - kroē/ 'spinning wheel').

The Rade language has no word tones or phonation types.

x

x

x

The Rade words cited in Thomas (1963) are all found in the speech of our informant (and in the Vocabulary below), except for 'cotton' and 'old' where our informant uses words with a different etymology. Among the Austronesian roots for which Thomas (*ibid*) leaves a blank the following occur in the speech of our informant (see Vocabulary below for the Rade forms): 'belly (abdomen)', 'breath', 'charcoal', 'fat', 'hair, feather', 'new', 'nose kiss', 'palm of hand', 'pus', 'rice plant', 'roll', 'spit (mouth)', 'tuber (sweet potato)', and 'vein'. We have checked the roots treated in Dahl (1976) and find, in addition to the ones cited in Thomas (*ibid*), the following certain Austronesian etymologies (see Vocabulary for Rade forms)⁵⁾: 'areca (112)', 'behind (59)', 'breast (76)', 'brain (head) (28)', 'chicken (bird) (112)', 'child (71)', 'crayfish (crustacean) (29)', 'die (40)', 'dream (32)', 'fart (29)', 'field (36)', 'finish (29)', 'flat (59)', 'float (on fishing line) (29)', 'forehead (34)', 'fruit (29)', 'full, satiated (92)', 'iron (106)', 'jaw (molar) (89)', 'live (29)', 'mortar (73)', 'name (71)', 'person (62)', 'pestle (28)', 'point (30)', 'raw (30)', 'shoot (28)', 'shoulder (91)', 'sleep (close eyes) (78)', 'spider (47)', 'spirit, god (105)', 'split (30)', 'stone (36)', 'sugar (34)', 'swallow (112)', 'this (70)', 'warm oneself (heat) (111)', 'wash (28)', 'winnow (34)', 'woman (36)', 'wind (74)', 'yonder (opposite side) (107)', 'you (sg) (33)', and 'younger sibling (80)'. Many other words treated in Dahl (1976) are probable cognates, whatever their special history, e.g. 'bee (50)', 'bird (domestic animal) (29)', 'cloud (water) (112)', 'cover (49)', 'dust (53)', 'error (29)', 'food (72)', 'hoe (61)', 'leech (61)', 'lick (79)', 'pass (44)', 'round (115)', 'run (18)', 'scoop (45)', 'scrape (63)', 'send (34)', 'small (110)', 'soft (72)', 'swim (73)', 'urine (33)', 'what (49)'.

⁵⁾ The number after the English gloss refers to a page in Dahl (1976) where the root is treated.

Among other well-known Austronesian roots⁶⁾ represented in the Vocabulary we find the following forms: 'after' Rade /lɛh/, 'animal' /mnəŋ/, 'at, in' /hlam/, 'bathe' /mnɛi/, 'before' /elau/, 'begin' /mphun/, 'bell' /ci'ŋ/, 'blade' /mta/, 'break' /mcah/, 'buffalo' /kba'u/, 'calf of leg' /tih/, 'chew' /mnah/, 'child' /h[?]dɛh/, 'cook rice' /kna[?]/, 'cloud' /biut/, 'corn' /ktə'r/, 'cow' /emo/, 'dam' /kdəŋ/, 'deaf' /kɲal/, 'deep' /elam/, 'duck' /bi'p/, 'flower' /mɲa/, 'follow' /tui/, 'go' /na'u/, 'go down' /trun/, 'gold' /mah/, 'grill' /gha'ŋ/, 'group' /phu'ŋ/, 'hard, toilsome' /ga'r/, 'hatch' /mkram/, 'hearth' /pu'r/, 'hide' /mdap/, 'hungry' /epa/, 'kidney' /k[?]dal/, 'king' /mta'u/, 'lazy' /alah/, 'leaf' /hla/, 'letter' /hra[?]/, 'lightning' /kmla[?]/, 'meet' /tuom/, 'monkey' /kra/, 'mud' /lu[?]/, 'navel' /msiat/, 'not' /kan/, 'penis' /ple/, 'people, man' /mnuih/, 'people, they' /araŋ/, 'pineapple' /na'n/, 'powder' /[?]bo't/, 'pregnant' /k[?]do'ŋ/, 'rattan' /hwie/, 'raven' /a'k/, 'scatter' /prue/, 'scratch' /kuaiah/, 'seed' /mjɛh/, 'shave' /kau[?]/, 'sing' /mmuiñ/, 'sink' /kra'm/, 'slap' /pah/, 'sneeze' /bhañ/, 'sour' /msam/, 'spirit' /mnat/, 'time' /ta'l/, 'to, at, in' /ti/, 'tomorrow' /mgi/, 'turtle' /krua/, 'twist' /blit/, 'village' /[?]buon/, 'wait' /guon/, 'weave' /mña'm/, and 'wing' /siap/.

⁶⁾ See e.g. Dempwolff (1938) and Wurm-Wilson (1975) for suggested reconstructed forms.

Vocabulary

The vocabulary below consists mainly of fundamental monosyllabic or disyllabic words. A few compounds and quite a few cultural items have been included where they are judged to be of interest to the linguist. References in brackets refer to other entrances in the Vocabulary which throw light on the usage of the Rade term in question. The relationship terms have been classified separately and listed at the end of this article.

abdomen, belly, stomach	tia'n
about to	cian [want]
above, up above, on	tin dlo'ŋ [direction]
absent (work or school)	ekut
accept	tu' ma' [agree][take]
across, lie across	mga'ŋ [protect]
across, put across	tro'ŋ
act as, act, make, do	ŋa'
Adam's apple	kla'ŋ k' ¹ dɔk [bone] [throat]
afraid	hwi' ~ hui'
after	lɛh, lɛh kə
afternoon, early afternoon	ya'ŋ hrue 'di' wih [sun] [climb]
afterwards	lɛh kə nən, sui kə nən lɔ'
again, also, (not) either	ega'u
ago, past	tu'
agree, all right	'jɔ' e'at
ague, cold fever	anap, ti anap
ahead, in front of	aŋin
air, wind	

airplane	edɛh phier [car] [fly]
all	jih ja'ŋ
all the way, all the time,	
at all, all up, all gone	hlɔŋ
all, all through, completely	s'ai'
all night, till dawn	bhu'ŋ aguah [bright] [morning]
allow	ju'm
alone	hjan
already	lɛh [after]
also, (not) either, again	lɔ'
always, all the time	nana'u
and	lɛh anan [after]
angry	krɛñ
animal	hlo mnəŋ [thing]
ankle	giet jəŋ [gourd] [leg]
answer (verb)	wit la'c [return][say]
answer (noun)	klɛi wit la'c [matter]
answer, answer back	mgal
answer back, make objections	mgal wit
ant	dam
antler, horn	ki
anus	'baŋ ɛh [hole] [feces]
areca nut	bɔh mna'ŋ [fruit]
areca palm	kyau mna'ŋ [tree]
arm	kja'n [elephant's trunk]
arm, lower arm	kpal
arm, upper arm	kpal bɔk [swell]

aroused, (male elephant) to be sexually aroused (secretion by ear)	ʔjɔʔ kriːŋ
arrow	ʔbram
ashes	hbau, bau pui [fire]
ask	emuh
assemble, come together	bi kʔbin
ask for, beg	akau
at, in	hlam
avoid	nɛʔ
awake (intransitive)	mdih
away from, at a distance	kʔbii
axe	joːŋ
back (of person or animal)	rɔŋ
back, in back of, behind	ti tluon
bad	jhaːt
bag, parcel, package	kdo, ado
ball, fruit, round thing	bɔh
ball (toy), coconut	bɔh ʔduːŋ
ball, glass ball, metal ball, ball bearing	ʔbi
bamboo (small)	ale
bamboo (rather big)	mʔo
bamboo (large)	kraːm
banana	mtɛi
banana palm	ana mtɛi
bark	klit, klit kyau [skin] [tree]
barn, granary	hjie
basket, with handles	baːi
basket, rice basket	i
basket, winnowing basket	kŋuor
basket used for fishing	ʔdrüʔ

basket carried on back by women, rucksack	bun
bathe	mnɛi
be	ji'ŋ
be not, not to be, isn't	amau ʔjɔʔ, kan ʔjɔʔ [right]
beam, roof beam (lengthwise)	yo'ŋ
beam, roof beam (crosswise)	eda
bear (noun)	agau
bear, give birth	truh tia'n; kkien [reach] [stomach] [born]
beard	mlau ka'ŋ [hair] [jaw]
beat, fight	cam
beat (heart, pulse)	kpīʔ [move]
beautiful	sia'm
because	kyua, kyua dah
bed	jhī'ŋ
bee	hnue
bee's wax	dian
before	elau
before ... -ing	elau kə ...
beg, ask for	akau
begin	mphun dən
behind, in back of	ti tluon
believe	ʔdauʔ
bell	ci'ŋ
belly, stomach	tia'n
belonging, thing	dɔʔ, dɔʔ do
bend down	kui
beside	ti ʔjeo
betel	haŋ
betray	lhiaɾ
between, in the middle	ti krah
bicycle	edɬ wa'i jən [vehicle] [turn] [foot]
big, wide, grown-up	pro'ŋ
big toe, thumb	kʔdien ana [digit] [female]

bird	cim
bite	kɛ?
bite hard, grind with teeth	k [?] dah
bitter, gall	phi?
black	ju?
blade, sheet	mta
blind	bu'm ala?
	[eye]
blood	erah, rah
blood vessel	ela'n rah
	[way] [blood]
blow (verb)	pu'h
blow, wind is blowing	a'ŋin pu'h
blow, play (a flute)	eyu? , ayu?
blow the nose	ñhuieh ea duŋ, kñhuieh, añhuieh
	[snot]
blue	piek
board, go onboard	?di?
	[climb]
boat, rowboat	chɔŋ
boat (propelled by punting)	mra'n
body	asɛi mlɛi
boil (intransitive), (water) to boil	ktəŋ
boil, cook (not rice)	tuk
bone	kla'ŋ
book	hdruom hra?
	[letter]
born, be born, give birth	kkieŋ
	[bear, give birth]
borrow	ca'n; ma'ñ
bottle, bottle neck, gourd	giet
bow (weapon)	hna
bowl, soup bowl	amɔ?
bowl, large bowl	ja'm
bowl, rice bowl	chien
brain	dlo
branch	dha'n

bread	kpuŋ
break (intransitive)	mcah
break (transitive)	bi mcah
break off, separate	klah
breast (woman's)	ksau
breath, breathing	ewa
breath, out of breath	luic ewa
	[lose]
breathe	bi ewa
bridge	kba'n
bring, take	ba
bring, take, carry	?ja?
	[drive]
	?ba'i
broad, wide	
broom	hla hnih
	[leaf] [pole]
brown	hrah khia?
	[red] [dark]
brush teeth	cha'u egɛi
	[wash]
bucket, water bucket	thuŋ ea
	[container] [water]
bud (verb), unfold	bla'ŋ
buffalo, water buffalo	kba'u
bull	emo kno
	[cow] [male]
bullet	asar
bull frog	adrɔk
burn (transitive and intransitive)	?bəŋ
	[eat]
burn, make a fire, set on fire	cuh
burp, hiccup	tak mnau
	[excretion] [taste]
bury	də'r
but	?bia? dah
	[little]
butterfly	taŋ tit
buy	blɛi

calf	[?] da'i emo
calf of leg	[young] [cow] bɔh tih [ball]
call	eo
Cambodian, Cambodia	kur
can, able to	dii
can, have the skill to, know	thau
candle	pui dian [fire] [bee's wax]
canine tooth, eyetooth	griaŋ
car, vehicle	edɛh, dɛh
car, automobile	edɛh pui [fire]
care, take care of, protect	raŋ krie
careful	raŋ, raŋ bɛ [?]
carry in hand, bring, take	[?] ja [?]
carry on back	gui
cast a net	trah
castrate, geld	kreɔ
cat	mio, meo
catch up with, reach in time	hma'u
caterpillar, worm	hluat
cave	[?] baŋ i'k [hole]
chair	mɔ [?]
change, replace	bi ala
charcoal	hdaŋ
chase, run after	tiɔ [?]
chastise, train by punishing	m [?] dau [?]
cheat	mpli [?]
cheek	mien
chest (body part)	anah da, [?] dah da
chest (wooden or steel)	hi'p
chew	mmah
chick, young chicken	[?] da'i mnu [?] [young] [chicken]
chicken	mnu [?]

child (son or daughter)	anaˈk
child (non-adult)	hʔdɛh
chin, jaw	kaˈŋ
Chinese, China	khɛc
choose	ruah
chopsticks	gie dīh [stick]
cigarette, tobacco	hat
clan, surname, matriarchal name	ʔjue
claw (noun)	kkau knuˈr [nail]
claw (verb), scratch	kuaˈc
clean (adjective)	dɔh
clear weather, dry weather	bhuˈŋ bhaˈŋ
cleft branch	kʔbaˈŋ
climb (tree, mountain), board (ship, vehicle)	ʔdiʔ
close (verb), shut	kʔdal
cloth	kpaˈñ
clothes	chuˈm aˈu [trousers] [shirt]
cloud (black, rainbearing)	knaˈm
cloud (white, not rainbearing)	biut
coast, shore, edge	haˈŋ
coat, man's long coat	aˈu jhuˈŋ [shirt]
cobra	ala kpɛŋ [snake]
cockcrow	mnuʔ kʔjoʔ [chicken] [crow]
coconut, ball	bɔh ʔduˈŋ [fruit]
coin	prak khan [money] [hard]
cold (people, things, weather)	eʔat
cold, cool (weather)	puih
cold season, winter	yan puih
cold (noun), cold temperature	klɛi eʔat

cold, to have a cold	ʔjoʔ hdraˈk
cold, to have a bad cold, influenza	eŋɔh
color	ea
	[water]
comb (noun)	ksi
comb (verb)	giʔ
come	hrie
come out, go out	kbiaʔ, kbiaʔ ʔdueʔ
	[move]
come out, (the sun) to rise, (water) to flow out	ʔblɛʔ
compete	bi loˈŋ
conditions, circumstances	klɛi mau
	[matter] [have]
confine, shut up	krɿʔ
conjure, invoke the spirits	pih
conjure, perform magic	mdiaˈn
container, metal container, box	thuŋ
cook (not rice), boil	tuk
cook rice	knaʔ sɛi
copulate	ʔdui
corn, maize	ktəˈr
corner	kkien, kien
corner (of room)	kkien mtih
	[wall]
cotton	hmlɛi
cough	mtuk
count	yaˈp
country	caˈr
	[grass field]
cover, hide	mdap
cow, bovine	emo
cow, female bovine	emo ana
crab	arien
crayfish	daˈŋ
cricket	liˈr
crooked	we
crow (as a rooster)	kʔjoʔ [cockcrow]

crush, extinguish	ra'i
cry	hia
cuckoo bird	ktrau
cup, drinking glass	kcɔ'k
cut (sever with knife)	khat
cut (with knife), kill	kɔh
cut (wood), cut into sections	krɛc [section]
cut (cloth or paper)	rɛh
cut open, disembowel	bla'c
cut, reap	jah
dam	kdəŋ
dance	kdɔʔ
danger	klɛi hwiʔ (~ huiʔ) [matter] [afraid]
dark, dark color	khiaʔ
dark (no light)	mmat
daughter	ana'k mn̄ie [woman]
day	hrue
day after tomorrow	hrue aguah dih [day] [morning] [yonder]
day after day after tomorrow, in three days	do'k tlau hrue [stay] [three] [day]
deaf	kɲal
deal with, have dealings with	bi mgal
dear, expensive, valuable, important	yuom
deceit	klɛi luar [matter] [lie]
deep	elām, lām
deer	hlo ra'ŋ
defend oneself	bi kdəŋ
deny	hɲah

die	ʔjie
different	mdhie
difficult, hard, arduous	dlɛh dla'm
dig (with spade)	klɛi
dig (post holes with splayed bamboo pole)	tiɰ
digit, finger, toe	kʔdien
dipper	bĩ'ŋ
direction, side	tiŋ
direction, towards	phaʔ
dirty	chɔʔ
dirty, very dirty	chɔʔ mrɔʔ
discuss, debate	bi tro'ŋ cha'i
	[across]
district	kri'ŋ
divide, distribute, share	mbha
do, make, act, act as, fight	ŋaʔ
do, perform, take	maʔ
doctor, physician	na'i ea dra'u
	[teacher] [drug]
dog	asau
don't, you must not	ʔdam, ʔdam oh
door (also doorway)	ʔbaŋ bhaʔ
	[hole]
down	guʔ
down, below, under	ti guʔ
down, downwards	phaʔ guʔ
	[direction]
down there	ti aguʔ diɰ
	[over there]
downstream	tluoŋ ea
	[back]
dream (noun)	pɛi, epɛi
dream (verb)	pɛi ʔbuh
	[see]
drink (verb)	mnam
drive	ʔjaʔ
	[bring, take]

drug	dra'u
drug (liquid), medicine, salve	ea dra'u [water]
drum (verb)	to'ŋ, to'ŋ gər
dry (no longer wet)	thu
drunk	rua' kpie [sick] [wine]
dry season, summer	yan bha'ŋ, yan m'dia' [season] [sunshine]
dry weather, clear weather	bhu'ŋ bha'ŋ
duck	bi'p
dumb, mute	kmlo
dusk, sunset	ya'ŋ hrue lɛ' [sun] [fall]
dust	'bruhih
dysentery	rua' o' ɛh [ill] [vomit] [defecate]
ear	kŋa
early (morning)	i'm
earth, Earth	elan, lan
earth, soil	pa'i lan
earthworm	naŋ
east	ŋɔ' 'bəŋ
eat (food other than rice)	[use] hwa' ~ hua' hwa' (~ hua') tla'm
eat (rice)	ha'ŋ
eat evening meal	rɔh
edge, shore, coast	enuŋ
edge of field	bɔh mnu'
eel	ko'k
egg, hen's egg	sapan, span
egret	'blɛ' tak [come out] [semen]
eight	kkieŋ kŋa'n [corner] [arm]
ejaculation of semen	
elbow	

elephant	ema'n, ma'n
eleven	pluh sa
embrace, hug	kmiek
enclosure, pen, cage, prison, garden, stable	wa'r
end, end of string, end of thread	knha'l
end, in the end	knha'l tuic [finish]
end (verb)	mjïh [stop]
endure	gir i'
enemy	rɔh
English, England	aŋglɛ
enough	man; ʔjap
enter, get into, penetrate	mut
enter, go into	na'u hlam [go] [in]
epoch, time	enu'k
equivalent to, as much as	khï'
erection of penis	gɔŋ ple
error, make a mistake, wrong	sɔh
escape	tlaih [not do]
even though	wat tɔ dah [if]
evening (till dark)	tla'm
ever, have experienced ...	tuom, tuom ŋa' [meet]
every	grap; ʔjap
every day	grap hrue
every time	grap blii'
exchange	bi mmlih, bi mlih
excrement, feces	ɛh
excretion, rubber, semen	tak
expel, chase out	suot
explain	mbla'ŋ
expose to the sun	ʔbhu
eye	ala'
eyetooth, canine tooth	griaŋ

face	ʔboʔ, ʔboʔ mta
faint, lose consciousness	hwat
fall (verb)	lɛʔ
fall over	lɛʔ ebuh, lɛʔ buh
fall to the ground	luh
fall, rainy season	yan hja'n
family, clan	gap ʔjue [relative] [surname]
famine	iʔ epa [endure] [hungry]
far	kbii
fart	ktut
fast (walking or running)	hmar
fat (adjective)	emɔŋ
fat, lard	praiʔ
fat (cooked)	epih
father	ama
faucet	ʔdiŋ ea [pipe]
feather, hair not on top of head	mlau
feces, excrement	ɛh
feed	ciem
fell, cut down	druom
female (of species)	ana
few, a few, a little	ʔbiaʔ
field, dry field	hma
field, grass field, country	ca'r
field, wet field	lɔʔ
fight (with fists)	bi cam
fight, be at war	mau rɔh [have] [enemy]
fight (shooting)	ŋaʔ [do]
fight, oppose, resist, make war	mblah, bi mblah
fill, make full	bi mbɔʔ, bi bɔʔ
find	duah
fill up (a hole)	lam
finger	kʔdien, kŋa'n [digit] [arm]

finger on elephant's trunk	kʔduɛc kɳaˈn [arm; trunk]
finish, all up	jih [all]
finish, stop doing something	mdɛi
finish, reach end	tuic
fire	pui
fire, bonfire	pui araˈm
fireplace (for heating, not cooking)	pui mdaˈŋ [warm oneself]
fireplace, hearth	puˈr, puˈr pui
firewood	ʔjuh
firm, solid	kjap
fish (noun)	ekaˈn, kaˈn
fish (verb), catch fish with bamboo trap	yaˈu
fish (verb) with hook and line	wah
five	ema
fix, repair	mkra
flag	kə
flat, not rounded	mʔdəˈr
flat, straight, not bent	kra
flee, flee the enemy	ʔdueʔ rɔh [move away] [enemy]
flesh	kʔdɛh
float (in water or air), fly (as a kite)	ʔduˈŋ
float (on fishing line)	mnuˈt
floor	tuˈr
floorboard	driˈŋ
flow	ʔdɔh
flower	mŋa
fly (verb)	phier
fly (insect)	rue
fly (as a kite), float (in water or air)	ʔduˈŋ
fly a kite	eraˈn hla [run][leaf]

foal (noun)	[?] da'i asɛh [young] [horse]
fog	dhu'l
follow	tui, tui hlue
following, according to	tui si
food	[?] ja'm, dɔ [?] [?] bəŋ, dɔ [?] [?] bəŋ hua [?] [thing] [eat]
foot	amu'ŋ jəŋ [leg]
foot (measure)	knhua'ŋ
for, to	kə
forbid	kam [week]
ford (for animals), animal's wading place	kdrun
forehead	dhɛi
forelegs	jəŋ anap
forest, jungle	kmrəŋ
forget	wə'r
former, of yore, old times	[?] dɿ'm
four	pa [?]
fox	mja
freeze	bi klɔ [?]
French, France	prəŋ
friend	[?] biŋ
friend, sworn brother	jiaŋ
frog	ajik
from	dəŋ mən
front, in front of, ahead	anap, ti anap
fruit	bɔh krɔh [ball]
fruit (edible)	bɔh [?] bəŋ [ball] [eat]
full	bɔ [?]
full, enough to eat	trɛi, trɛi tia'n [stomach]
fur, pelt, skin, hide	klit

gall, bitter	phi [?]
garden	wa'r
	[enclosure]
German, Germany	aleman; zɛkmoni
get up, up	kɣu [?]
get up (after sleeping)	kɣu [?] pit
	[sleep]
gibbon	hoa
gills	o [?] ka'n
	[fish]
ginger	eya [?]
girl, woman	mnie
give	brɛi
glad, in a happy mood	hək, hək kdək
glans penis	klat ple
glass (material)	ca'i
glass, drinking glass	kcɔ'k
go, go somewhere	na'u
go, proceed, take a walk	hiu
go, bestir oneself	ʔdue [?] na'u
	[move]
go down, come down, step down	trun, trun ti gu [?]
go out, come out	kbia [?] , kbia [?] ʔdue [?]
	[move]
go with, live with	na'u mbit
	[together]
goat	be
god, spirit	ya'n
God	ai die
	[grandfather] [sky]
God, the Lord	khua ya'n
	[head of clan] [spirit]
gold	mah
good	jak
goose-flesh, hair stands on end	ʔblɛ [?] mlau
	[come out] [hair]
gorilla	kra ʔdut
	[monkey] [short]

gourd, bottle, bottle neck	giet
grab, clasp	kca'u
granary, barn	hjie
grandfather	ai
grandmother	aduon
grass	rək
grass field, country	ca'r
grassland, plain	dlie
grave, tomb	msa't
gravel, pebbles	ga
gray	ʔbluk
green, raw	mtah
green color	ea mtah
	[water]
greet	kkuh
grill, roast	gha'ŋ
grind, bite hard	kʔdah
group	phu'ŋ
gun	pha'u
guts, entrails	pro'c
hail	plier, hja'n plier
	[rain]
hair (on top of head)	ʔbuk
hair (not on top of head), feather	mlau
hammer (noun)	kmut
hammock	ja'u
hand	amu'ŋ kŋa'n
	[arm]
hand of bananas	si'r
hand over	ja'u
hang, suspend, be suspended	kaʔ yuol
	[tie]
hang someone by the neck	ruot, ruot kkue
	[neck]
happenings, events	klɛi truh
	[matter] [arrive]

happiness	klei hək
	[matter] [happy]
happy (about something)	m [?] a [?] k
happy, glad	hək, hək kdək
hard, stiff	khaŋ
hard, difficult, arduous	dleħ dla [?] m
hard, toilsome, diligently	gir ga [?] r
harvest, harvest season	yan wia [?]
	[season]
hat	[?] duon
hatch, sit on the eggs	mkram
hate	al
haul	m [?] dəh
have, there is	mau
hawk	tla [?] ŋ
he, she (present or older than speaker)	ñu
he, she (not present, and same age or younger than speaker)	ga [?]
head	kə [?] , bəh kə [?]
	[ball]
head of clan, head, boss	khua
heal, cure, apply drugs	mdra [?] u
hear	hmī [?]
heart (seat of feelings)	a [?] i tie
	[liver]
heart (organ)	tie bəh
	[liver] [ball]
heartbeat	wa tie bəh
hearth, fireplace	pu [?] r, pu [?] r pui
heavy	ktrə [?]
heifer	emo ra
	[cow] [virgin]
help	[?] dru
hemp	bra [?] ŋ
here	nei, ti anei, ti nei
here, hither, this way	pha [?] nei
	[direction]

hide (transitive), cover	mdap
hide oneself	ʔdueʔ dap; kup [move away]
hide, skin	klit
high, tall, long	dlo'ŋ
hind legs	jəŋ tluon
hit (with fist)	tuk
hit (with open hand), slap	pah
hit, run into, collide with	dram
hoe	waŋ kuok
hoist, raise, rebuild	mʔdiʔ
hold in the hand	kpat
hold in mouth; Jew's harp	go'ŋ
hole	ʔbaŋ
hone, whet	yah
honey	ea hnue [water] [bee]
hook (fishing)	wah
horn, antler	ki
horse	asɛh
hot (weather, food)	hlə'r
hot (weather), feel hot, too hot	kəhɔʔ [sweat]
house	sa'ŋ
how, why, what, whether	si, si ŋaʔ
how much, how many	dīm
human being, man, people	mnuih
hundred	etuh, sa etuh
hundred thousand	pluh klak
hungry	pa tia'n, tia'n epa [stomach]
hunt (animals)	hiu lua [go] [sneak]
hurry	jɛc ruat
husband	u'ŋ
husband of widow, second husband, wife of widower, second wife	nue, noe
husk	ka'm
husked rice	braih
hut	pä'k

I	kau
ice	ea e [?] at
	[water] [cold]
idea, thought	klɛi min
	[matter] [think]
if, when	tə dah
ill, sick, pain, hurt	rua [?]
ill with lingering disease	rua [?] dua'm
illness	klɛi rua [?]
	[matter] [ill]
immediately, at once	mta'm
in, at	hlam
indentation, recess, hollow	
rock formation	ktrɔh
influenza, bad cold	eŋɔh
inform, let know	bi mthau
	[know]
inside	hlam dih
	[in] [yonder]
invoke, conjure the spirits	pih
iron	msɛi
it (present) (also he, she)	ñu
it (not present) (also he, she)	gə [?]
itch	ktal
ivory, tusk of elephant	mła
Japanese, Japan	zaponɛ
jaw, chin	ka'ŋ
Jew's harp, hold in mouth	go'ŋ
jump	kdau
jungle, forest	kmrəŋ
just, a moment ago	mknue
just, newly, new	mrau
keep, store	piɔh
key	kliəŋ

kick	cY'ŋ
kick (accidentally)	cah
kidney	kʔdal
kill	mʔjie, bi mʔjie
king	mta'u
kite (toy), leaf	hla
kitten	ʔda'i mio
	[young] [cat]
knee	kʔut jəŋ
knee	kla'ŋ kʔut
	[bone] [knee]
knee cap	bɔh kɛñ
	[ball]
knife	dhɔŋ
knit	ktɛh
know, have the skill to, can	thau
knuckle	ktut kʔdien [finger]
lake	ea ena'u
	[water]
lance, spear	kju
language, word, matter	klɛi
Laotian, Laos	la'u
last night	mɫa'm mɫɛi
laugh	tla'u
lay, lie where laid	mʔdih
lay down	bi mʔdih
lay eggs	mbɔh
lazy	alah
lead (metal)	kmra'k
leaf, sheet, thin and flat object, kite (toy)	hla
lean, lean on	dra
lean against	tɿʔ
learn	hriam
leave, move away, move	ʔdueʔ
leech	tah

left (side)	ʔdeɔ
leg	ʃəŋ
lemon	bɔh krueʔ cɛñ
	[orange]
lend	brɛi ca'n
	[give][borrow]
leopard	emo'ŋ brɛc
	[tiger]
letter, writing, mail	hraʔ
lick	lɛh
lie, deceive	lua'r
lie down	ʔdih
life	klɛi hdip
	[matter] [live]
lift, lift up	yə'r
light (bright light)	mŋa'c
light (not heavy)	ʔjhu'l
light, easy (not strenuous)	kdu
lightning	kmlaʔ
line (fishing)	klɛi wah
	[fish]
lips	kʔbo'ŋ
liquid, water, color	ea
listen	mʔdi'ŋ hmĩʔ
	[hear]
little, a little, a few	ʔbiaʔ
live	hdip
liver	tie
loincloth	kpin
long, tall, high	dlo'ŋ
look, watch, read	dlaŋ
look after, tend, nourish, feed	ro'ŋ
look up	aŋĩi
loom	gien kpañ
	[cloth]
loose (not tight)	hblue

Lord, the Lord, God	khua ya'η [head of clan] [spirit]
lose, be lost	luic
lose (accidentally), drop	bi lɛʔ [fall]
louse	ktau
love (verb)	khap
love, in love, infatuated	ʔbo
low, short	ʔdut
low (of stature)	ʔdut ua'n; ktiel [trunk]
lump	klɔʔ
lung	la
machete	kgəʔ
mad, crazy	khɔʔ
magic, witchcraft	klɛi mdia'n [matter] [conjure]
magician, sorcerer	mnuih mdia'n [man] [magic]
malaria	ruaʔ yan [ill] [season]
Malay, Malaya, Malaysia	mala'i
male (of species)	kno
man, human being, people	mnuih
man, male human being	ekɛi
mange, mangy	ku'r
mango	bɔh soa'i [ball]
mankind	ana`k mnuih [child][man]
many, much	lu
mark (noun)	gru
marry	do`k
marry, get married	do`k u`η moʔ [stay][husband] [wife]

mat, carpet	añue
matter, event, fact, language, word	klɛi
maybe, perhaps, about	hlam bro
meat	cim
meet, assemble	kʔbin
meet with	tuom, mtuom
	[ever]
meeting, assembly	klɛi bʔbin
	[matter]
melt	li'k
midday, noon	krah ya'ŋ hrue dən
	[middle] [sun] [standing]
middle, in the middle	ti krah
midnight	krah mla'm
milk	ea ksau
	[water] [breast]
milk (verb)	ʔjiet ea ksau
	[squeeze] [milk]
million	kla'i, sa kla'i
miserable, unhappy	kna'p
mock, make fun of	muic
molar	egɛi kham
	[tooth]
moment	bhiau
Monday	hrue sa
	[day] [one]
money, silver	prak
monkey	kra
month, moon	mla'n
moon, month	mla'n
more than	hin
morning	aguah, aguah i'm
	[early]
mortar	suŋ
mosquito	kɛc
mosquito net	muŋ
mother	amiʔ

mountain	cī?
mouse, rat	kkuih, kuih
mouth	?ban egɛi
	[hole][tooth]
move, move away, leave	?due?
move, not quiet, restless, writhe, squirm, (the heart) to beat	kpī?
much, many	lu
mud	lu?
mushroom	mma'u
mute, dumb	kmlo
nail (of digit)	kkau
nail (metal)	k?din
name	anan
nape of the neck	cɔŋ u't, tɔŋ tɬut
narrow	knia?
nation, fatherland	ca'r kua'r
navel	msiat
near	giam
neck, throat (outside)	kkue
need, want	cian
	[about to]
needle	erum, rum
nest	hruh
net, fishing net	ja'l
new, newly, just	mrau
news	klɛi mrau mra'ŋ
	[matter] [new]
next, future	edɛi
night (all dark)	mɭa'm
nine	duapan
ninety	duapan pluh [ten]
nod	?dī't
noise	eŋa'ñ, ŋa'ñ
noon, midday	krah ya'ŋ hrue dəŋ
	[middle] [sun] [standing]

north
 nose
 not
 not, also not, not either
 not yet
 not do, neglect to do
 not, don't, you must not
 nothing
 now

numb
 oar; punting pole

obey
 often
 oil drum

old (not new)
 old (not young)
 old times, former
 on, on top of, over
 once

once upon a time

one
 onion
 only
 open (verb)
 or

orange

orangutang
 other, another
 outside
 outside, out
 over

dī'r
 duŋ
 amau, amau oh
 kan
 ka oh
 tlaih, tlaih oh
 ʔdam, ʔdam oh
 hʔai , hʔaiʔ ma'ŋ
 araʔ anɛi
 [this]
 kran
 gie waih
 [stick] [row, punt]
 ʔdu'p gǐ't
 khan
 thuŋ ʔbi
 [container] [ball]
 hʔdap
 mduon
 ʔdī'm
 ti dlo'ŋ
 sa bliiʔ
 [one] [time]
 sa hrue ʔdī'm ʔdaʔlaʔ elau
 [one][day][former][before]
 sa
 sun
 knəŋ
 pɔk
 amau dah
 [not]
 bɔh krueʔ
 [ball]
 kʔjhat
 mkan
 eŋa'u
 ti eŋa'u
 ti dlo'ŋ [on]

over there, yonder	adih, ano`k dih,
owl	ti dih, ti ano`k dih mka`u
pain, hurt, ill, sick	rua?
palm of the hand	pla? kŋa`n [arm]
pan, pot	gɔ?
papaya	bɔh tie nat [ball] [liver]
paper	m?a`r
parents	ami? ama [mother] [father]
pass, go by	bla?
pay (for services rendered)	mɪn
pay, spend (for a thing bought)	bi lie
peace	klɛi enie
peacock	amra`k
pebbles, gravel	ga
pen (writing implement)	gie cih [stick][write]
pen, cage	wa`r [enclosure]
penetrate, enter, get into	mut
penis	ple
people, the Rahde people	ana`k e?de ga, ana`k ra?de [child][pebbles]
people, they, somebody	araŋ
perhaps, maybe	hɪam bro
person, classifier for persons	co
persuade, urge	mtrut
pestle	hlau
pick (fruit)	pɛ? [pluck]
pig	un
pine tree	ana hŋo
pineapple	bɔh tie na`n [ball][liver]

pipe (tobacco pipe)	ʔdiŋ hat [tobacco]
place	anoˈk
plan, scheme	mnɛc
plane (noun and verb)	sah
plant (verb)	pla
play (structured game)	hlap
play, have fun	chĩˈn
play a flute, blow	eyuʔ, ayuʔ
play a guitar, pluck	pɛʔ
please	... ʔda
plough (verb)	kaˈi
plough (noun)	waŋ kaˈi
pluck; play a guitar	pɛʔ [pick]
plunder	kliˈn
point (verb)	ktro
point (of knife)	duk
pole, punting pole, oar	gie waih [stick] [row, punt]
pole, pole splayed at base for digging post holes	hnih
poor	ʔbuˈn, ʔbuˈn ʔbiˈn
post, pillar	kmɛh
pot, pan	gɔʔ
potato	hbɛi praŋ [tubers] [French]
potato, sweet potato	hbɛi taˈu [tubers]
pound, grind	tap
pour	ʔjiŋ
powder	ʔboˈt
pray	hʔɛc hm̩i
pregnant (animal)	kʔdoˈŋ
pregnant (woman)	ba tiaˈn [carry] [stomach]
prepare, make ready	mpiet mmiet [tidy]

press on, put weight on	kti [?]
price	enəh, enəh prak [money]
promise	[?] buan
property, riches	nan, nan dɔ [?] [thing]
protect, guard, cover	mga'ŋ [across]
pull	ktun
pull out	buic
pulse	ela'n rah kpi [?] [way] [blood] [beat]
punish	bi kmha'l
punt, row, propel a boat	waih
puppy, whelp	[?] da'i asau [young] [dog]
purse (also handbag)	[?] ba'p
pus	enah
push	gi [?]
pustule	mun
put	dī'm
put down	līh
put on head (as a hat)	[?] doa
python	ala tlan
question	klɛi emuh [language] [ask]
quickly	pra'l
quiet, silent	kriep, kriep mliēp
rabbit	pa'i
race	[?] jue mnuih [clan] [man]
Rade	ra [?] de, e [?] de
Rade language	klɛi ra [?] de, klɛi e [?] de

rain	hja'n
rains, it rains, it is raining	die hja'n [sky]
rainy season, fall	yan hja'n
raise, hoist, rebuild	m [?] di [?]
rape (verb)	go [?]
rasp	sa [?] ba'i
rat, mouse	kkuih; kuih
rattan	hwie
raven	a'k
raw (unripe or uncooked), green	mtah
reach, concern, concerning	truh
read	dlaŋ, dlaŋ hra [?] [look] [letter]
reap, cut	jah
recess, indentation, hollow	
rock formation	ktrɔh
red	hrah
region, area, lot	kdriek
relative, fellow, comrade	gap
release, set free	phii
remember	hdə'r
repent	h [?] blɔk
rescue, set free	bi mtlaih
return	wit
revenge	klɛi lɔ [?] wit ŋa [?] [matter] [again] [return] [do]
rice plant, unhusked rice	mdie
rice, husked rice	braih
rice, cooked rice	sɛi
rice, glutinous rice	[?] diɔ [?]
rice, broken rice	mkue [?]
rich	mdrɔŋ
riches, property	ŋan, ŋan dɔ [?] [thing]
richness	klɛi mdrɔŋ
right, correct	[matter] [?] jɔ [?]

right (side)	hnua [?]
right, towards right	pha [?] hnua [?] [direction]
river	ea kro'ŋ [water]
road, way	ela'n
roast, grill	gha'ŋ
roll around, coil	di'n
roof	cuor sa'ŋ [house]
room, shelter	adu [?] [umbrella]
rooster, cock	mnu [?] kno [chicken] [male]
root	gha
rope	klɛi blit, klɛi kui [?] [string] [twist]
rotten	bru [?]
rough (surface)	grik grɛñ
round	wil
row, punt, propel a boat	waih
rubber, latex	tak, tak kyau [excretion] [tree]
rubber (finished product), elastic, rubber band	ksu, su
rubber tree	ana ksu
rubbish, refuse	[?] jah
run	era'n
sad	enquot
salt	hra
same, also	msɛ [?]
same as	msɛ [?] si
sand	cuah
saw (noun)	anua [?]
say	la'c
scale, fish scale	kkaih

scar	gru mka [mark] [wound]
scatter (as rice for chickens)	prue
school	sa'ŋ hra [?]
	[house] [letter]
scoop up	tuah
scrape	lo'k
scratch (where it itches)	kuaih
scratch, claw	kua'c
scream	u'r
sea	ea ksi [?]
	[water]
season, time of year, weather	yan
section, chunk, hunk	kdrɛc
	[cut]
section of bamboo, trunk	ua'n
of person	[?] buh
see	mjɛh
seed	po; gə [?] (first person only)
self, oneself, own	chi [?]
sell	tak
semen	[excretion]
	m [?] it
send, send a letter	ra'ŋ
set, set the table, spread	kjuh
seven	jhit
sew	mɲat
shadow (of animate), spirit, soul	yui
shadow (of inanimate), shade	ekɔh
shallow	bɔh tih
shank, lower leg	[ball]
	[?] bəŋ
sharp	[eat; burn]
	kau [?]
shave	ñu
she, he (present or older than speaker)	
she, he (not present, and same age or younger than speaker)	gə [?]

shin bone	kla'ŋ thu'ŋ
shine	ktlaʔ
shirt	a'u
shoes	hɖruom jəŋ
	[leg]
shoe string	klei hɖruom jəŋ
shoot (verb)	mnaɦ
shore, coast, edge	ha'ŋ
short, low	ʔdut
shoulder	mra
shout	mthi'r
shut, close	kʔdal
side	ʔjeo
side (of mountain, house, animal)	
silver, money	kpien
sing	prak
sink	mmuiñ
sit, be seated	kra'm
sit, stand, stay	su'n
sit down	do'k
sit on the eggs, hatch	do'k guʔ
six	mkram
skin, hide, fur, pelt, skin of feathers, bark	nam
skirt (long)	klit
skull	mʔien
	kla'ŋ kɔʔ
	[bone] [head]
sky	adie, die
slap, hit with open hand	pah
slave	hlun
sleep	pit
slingshot	kʔba'ŋ su
	[cleft branch] [rubber]
slip on (ring, band)	buh
slow	emĩ't dhi't
small	ʔdiet
smear, smear on	mmia
smell, taste	mnau

smell (perceive and emit odor)	ʔbau
smell bad, bad smell	ʔbau iu
smell good, good smell	ʔbau mŋi
smoke (noun)	asap
smoke cigarette	ʔjup hat
smooth	ʔblia
snail	tuor
snake	ala
sneak	lua
sneeze	bha'ñ
snout	ea duŋ
	[water] [nose]
soap	kʔbu
soft	eʔu'n
soldier	kəha'n, kha'n
sole of the foot	plaʔ jəŋ
	[leg]
son	ana'k, ana'k ekɛi
	[man]
song	klei mmuiñ
	[matter] [sing]
sorcerer, magician	mnuih mdia'n
	[man] [magic]
sound (noun)	ena'i
sour	msam
south	dhu'ŋ
sow (verb) (rice in wet field)	rah
sow, plant (rice in dry field)	buh
speak, talk	bluʔ
spear, lance	kju
spider	wak wa'i
spider's web	ea wak wa'i, hruh wak wa'i
	[water] [nest]
spinning wheel	kroe
spirit, shadow (of animate)	mŋat
spirit, god	ya'ŋ
spit (verb)	bah
spit (noun)	ea bah [water]

spit, spit out	cuh
split	blah
spoon	uak
spring, flower season	yan mŋa
sprinkle (with water)	krih
sprout (verb)	cat
sprout, bamboo sprout	bun
squeeze out	ʔjiet
squirrel	proʔk
stab	tlɔʔ
stable, barn	waʔr
stand, sit, stay	doʔk
stand	doʔk dən
standing, erect, straight up	dən
stand something up, make stand, put	mdən
stand up, get up	kɣuʔ dən
star	mtuʔ
stay, sit, stand	doʔk
steal, pilfer	knɛʔ
steal, rob	tlɛʔ
steel	msɛi khaŋ
	[iron] [hard]
step on, trample, trod under foot	juaʔ
steps, stairs	kɛʔ ñaʔn
stick, cylinder	gie
stick, walking stick	gie dra
	[lean]
stick, be stuck	ʔduom
stiff, hard	khaŋ
still, as before	at
sting	duc
stinger, bee's stinger	enuc
stomach (organ)	huŋ
stomach, belly, abdomen	tiaʔn
stone	tau, bəh tau
stop (intransitive and transitive), hold back, ask to stay	kən

stop, make a stop, pause	mdɛi
stop, end, stop walking, stop somebody	mjɪh
story	klɛi yal dlɛ
	[matter] [talk]
	kpaʔ
straight	ea hnɔh
stream, small river	[water]
	klɛi, klɛi braʔŋ
	[hemp]
	jhɔŋ
strong, wild, ferocious	ктаʔŋ
strong, strongly, with much force	hriam hraʔ
study	[learn] [letter]
	klɛi hriam hraʔ
	[matter] [study]
	kpəŋ
studies	mluk mgu
	maʔm
stump, tree stump	sik
stupid	bau
suck	yan bhaʔŋ, yan mʔdiaʔ
sugar	[season] [dry] [sunshine]
sugar cane	yaʔŋ hrue
summer, dry season	[spirit] [day]
	hrue kjuh
	[day] [seven]
sun	yaʔŋ hrue ʔdiʔ ŋɔʔ
	[sun] [climb] [east]
	yaʔŋ hrue lɛʔ
	[sun] [fall]
	mʔdiaʔ
	ktɿʔ, ktɿʔ juaʔ
	[press on]
	sit, sit nik
sure, for sure, certain, true	ʔjue
surname, matriarchal name, clan	kŋar, bi kŋar
surprise, surprised	

suspect, talk behind someone's back	cha'l
swallow (verb)	lu'n
sweat (noun)	ea kəhɔʔ [water] [hot]
sweep	kih
sweet	mmih
swell (verb)	bək
swelling, insect bite	gru bək [mark] [swell]
swim, (for a person) to swim	elue - loe
swim, (for an animal) to swim	nha'm
sword	ʔda'u gĩ'm
table	jhĩ'ŋ cih hraʔ [bed] [write] [letter]
tadpole	ʔda'i nu'n [young]
tail (animal, bird, fish)	kku, ku
take, do, perform	maʔ
take out	sua'i
take (something) by force	mhiaʔ
talk	yal
talk, talk about, debate	yal dlɛ
tall (of stature)	dlo'ŋ ua'n [trunk]
tame (adj)	mjuat
tame (verb)	bi mjuat
taro	hbɛi ʔbu'r [tubers]
taste, smell	mnau
taste good	kʔbat
tea (leaves)	ce, tra
tea (liquid)	ea ce, ea tra [water]
teach	mto
teacher; person engaged in an academic profession	na'i

tear, torn	ti [?]
tears	ea ala [?] [water] [eye]
tease	m [?] diɛl
tell, relate	hī'n
tell, report, tattle	kcut -
ten	pluh
ten thousand	klak, sa klak
termite, flying termite	kla'p
testicles	bəh ple
	[ball] [penis]
Thai, Thailand	siam
that	anən
that there, yonder	dih
thatch	hla'ŋ
there	ti anən
there, over there	adih, ano'k dih, ti dih, ti ano'k dih
there is, have	mau
therefore	snən; kyua anən
they (present or older than speaker)	di ñu
they (not present, and same age or younger than speaker)	di gə [?]
they, people, somebody	araŋ
thick	kpa'l
thigh	pha
thin	epih, pih
thing	mnəŋ
thing, belonging	də [?] , də [?] do
think	min
thirsty	[?] bha't
thirty	tlau pluh
this	anɛi, nɛi
thorn	rue
thought, idea	klɛi min
	[matter] [think]
thousand	abau, sa bau
thread	mra'i
three	tlau

three days ago	tlau hrue ega'u
throat (inside)	kʔdɔk, ʔbaŋ kʔdɔk [hole]
throat (outside), neck	kkue
throw, throw something at somebody	bhir
thumb, big toe	kʔdien ana [digit] [female]
thunder	gram
thus, like that	sə nən, snən [that]
thus, like this	sə nɛi, snɛi [this]
tickle	liek
tidy, tidy up	mmiet
tie up, bind	cap
tie, tie a knot	kaʔ
tie, tie together	kuol
tiger	emo'ŋ
till, until so that	tə'l, tə'l pat, hlɔŋ truh [when]
time, hour, o'clock	mmo'ŋ
time, epoch	enu'k
time, time when, while	eja'i
time (how many times)	bliiʔ
time, occasion	ta'l
tired, fatigued, exhausted	eman, eman emiek
tired, tired of doing, disinterested	egah
to, at, in	ti
to, for	kə
tobacco, cigarette	hat
today	hrue anɛi [day] [this]
toe	kʔdien jəŋ [digit] [leg]
together, along	mbit
toilsome, hard	gir ga'r

tomorrow	hrue mgi
	[day]
tongue	lah
tooth	egɛi
top of the head	ʔdu'ŋ kɔʔ
	[head]
top of mountain, peak	cɔŋ
torch	pui aro'k
touch	soʔ
transplant (rice)	buh
trap (noun)	geo
trap, bamboo fish trap	sue
tray, shallow bamboo tray	
for drying rice in the sun	lip
tree	kyau, kyau mtau
	[wood]
trod under food, step on	juaʔ
trousers	chu'm
true, sure, certain	sit
true, truthful	emit
trunk of person, section of bamboo	ua'n
trunk (elephant's)	kŋa'n
	[arm]
try	lo'ŋ
tubers, edible tubers	hbɛi
turn, turn around, change direction	wi'r
turn, cause to turn around	bi wi'r
turn, pedal, pump	wa'i
turn on, switch on	ti't
turn, one's turn	ʔjɔʔ mmo'ŋ
	[right] [time]
turn upside down	mkup
turtle	krua
tusk of elephant, ivory	m̥la
twenty	dua pluh
	[ten]
twig	kʔbien

twist (a rope)
two

blit
dua

umbrella

adu?
[room]

under, below, down
understand

ti gu?
thau saŋ
[know]

unhappy, miserable
unhusked rice, rice plant
untie
up, get up
up there

kna'p
mdie
kleh; ruh
kgu?
ti dlo'ŋ dih
[over there]

upstream

kɔ' ea
[head] [water]

urge, persuade
urinate
urine

mtrut
m'iek
ea m'iek
[water]

use

?bəŋ
[eat food other than rice]

use
usually
useful, profitable

yua
mī'ŋ
tu' dī'n

vagabond

phu'ŋ ?ba'i
[wicked]

valley

ktrəh la'm
[recess] [deep]

vein

aruat

very

bɔ' hɔŋ klɛi ...

very, so much, too much

snak; ?dɛi

Vietnamese, Vietnam

juan

village

?buon

virgin	era, ra, mnie era [woman]
voice	asap
vomit	ʔbleʔ oʔ [come out]
vulva	lien
wade	gan
waist	kʔien
wait	guon
wait, expect	caʔη hmaʔη
wake up (intransitive)	mdih pit [sleep]
waken, wake up (transitive)	rau
walk	ebaʔt
walk, take a walk	ʔdueʔ hiu [move] [go]
wall (of house)	mtih
want, need	cian [about to]
warm (weather, person, food), feel warm, nice and warm	mʔdaʔu
warm oneself by the fire	mdaʔη
wash (the body with hands; not used of washing head or hands)	ñat
wash face	paʔc, paʔc ʔboʔ
wash (hands, things)	raʔu
wash hands	raʔu kηaʔn
wash, scrub (person, self, not hands)	dhoʔη
wash (clothes)	bɔh
wash (things), brush (teeth)	chaʔu
wasp	hoʔη
wasteland	kdran
watch, read, look	dlaη
water, liquid, color	ea
water snake	ala ea

water bottle	giet ea
wave, beckon	pīi, pīi kŋa'n
wave (noun)	lah ea
	[tongue] [water]
way, road	ela'n
we (including you)	drɛi
we (not you)	hmɛi
weak	awat
wear (upper garment)	h [?] o
wear (trousers)	cut
weather, time of year, season	yan
weave	mñā'm
wedding	klɛi bi kuol ka [?]
	[matter] [tie]
week	hrue kam
	[day] [forbid]
weep	[?] blɛ [?] ea ala [?]
	[come out] [tear]
well, feeling fine	asuaih, asuaih pra'l
west	yu [?]
wet	msah
whale	ka'n ema'n
	[fish] [elephant]
what	ya, ya dɔ [?] , nən dɔ [?] , ya mnən
what	si, si klɛi
	[matter]
when, as soon as	tə'l
	[till]
when, if	tə dah
when, at what time	dīm mmo'ŋ
when (in the future)	ti bīl
where, whither	ti ano'k
whet, hone	yah
while, time when, epoch	eja'i, ja'i
which, which one	tiŋ
white	ko [?]
who	hlɛi
why	ya klɛi [what] [matter]

wicked	[?] ba·i
wife	mo [?]
wife of widower, second wife, husband of widow, second husband	nue, noe
wild, ferocious, strong	jhəŋ
wild, not tame	dlie
	[grassland]
will, shall, (indicating future)	sə raŋ, sraŋ
wilted, dry	kro
win	[?] bəŋ; dīi
	[eat]; [can]
wind, air	aŋin
window	[?] baŋ bha [?] [?] diet
	[door] [small]
wine, liquor	kpie
wing	siə·p
wing (plucked of feathers)	kiaŋ, keaŋ
wink	k [?] dhit ala [?]
winnow	pəi
winnowing basket	kŋuor
winter, cold season	yan puih
	[season]
wipe	lam
with	həŋ
woman, girl	mnie
wood	kyau
	[tree]
work (noun)	brua [?]
work (verb)	ma [?] brua [?]
	[do]
work hard, labor	gir
worm, caterpillar	hluat
wound (noun)	mka
wrist	giət kŋa·n
	[gourd] [arm]
write	cih, cih hra [?]
	[letter]
writhe, squirm	kpī [?]

writing	klɛi cih hra [?] [matter] [write] [letter]
wrong, bad, error, make a mistake	sɔh
year	thun
yeast, ferment	kpɛi
yellow	kñi [?]
yesterday	hrue mbrue [day]
yonder, that there	dih
you (singular)	ih
you (singular) (used with younger close relative and among friends)	ɔŋ
you (plural)	di ih
young, the young of a species	[?] da'i
young man, unmarried man	[?] dɛh da'm

Relationship Terms

The following abbreviations are used in the list of relationship terms below: f = father or father's, m = mother or mother's, br = brother or brother's, si = sister or sister's, s = son or son's, d = daughter or daughter's, w = wife or wife's, h = husband or husband's, ol = older, yg = younger, gr = grand, gr gr = great grand, addr = direct address; no term implies that only the personal name and no relationship term is used.

Ego male

f	ama		
f f	ai		
f m	aduon		
f f f	ayɔŋ		
f f m	aduon khua		
f m f	ayɔŋ		
f m m	aduon khua		
f br ol than ego	mnɛh	w	mnɛh
f br same age as ego	kna'i	w	no term
f br yg than ego	kna'i	w	no term
f si ol than ego	amiet	h	amiet
f si same age as ego	no term	h	no term
f si yg than ego	no term	h	no term
ol br	ayɔŋ	w	ie
yg br	adɛi	w	adɛi
ol si	ama'i	h	ie
yg si	adɛi	h	kna'i
f br s ol than ego	ayɔŋ	w	ie
f br s same age as ego	no term	w	no term
f br s yg than ego	adɛi	w	adɛi
f br d ol than ego	ama'i	h	ie
f br d same age as ego	adɛi	h	kna'i
f br d yg than ego	adɛi	h	kna'i

Ego male

f si s	kna'i	w	no term
f si d	no term	h	no term
s [addr: da'm]	ana'k	w	mtau
d [" : bu [?]]	ana'k	h	mtau
br s [" : da'm]	ana'k	w	mtau
br d [" : ajau <u>or</u> bu [?]]	ana'k	h	mtau
s child	amuon	w <u>or</u> h	amuon
gr child [addr: co]	co <u>or</u> ana'k	w <u>or</u> h	co <u>or</u> ana'k
gr gr child [addr: cε [?]]	cε [?] <u>or</u> ana'k		

Ego male

m	ami [?]		
m f	ai		
m m	aduon		
m f f	ayɔŋ		
m f m	aduon khua		
m m f	ayɔŋ		
m m m	aduon khua		
m br ol than m	ua	w	ua
m br yg than m	amiet	w	amiet
m si ol than m	prɔŋ	h	prɔŋ
m si yg than m	mnɛh	h	mnɛh
m br s	kna'i	w	no term
m br d	no term	h	no term
m si s ol than ego	ayɔŋ	w	ie
m si s same age as ego	no term	w	no term
m si s yg than ego	adɛi	w	adɛi
m si d ol than ego	ama'i	h	ie
m si d same age as ego	adɛi	h	adɛi
m si d yg than ego	adɛi	h	kna'i

Ego male

w	[addr: adɛi]	mo?		
w f		amiet		
w m		amiet		
w f f		ai		
w f m		aduon		
w m f		ai		
w m m		aduon		
w d br		ayɔŋ	w	no term
w yg br		kna'i	w	no term
w ol si		no term	h	rah to
w yg si		adɛi	h	rah to

Ego female

f	ama	w	mnɛh
f br ol than ego	mnɛh	w	no term
f br same age as ego	no term	w	no term
f br yg than ego	no term	w	no term
f si ol than ego	amiet	h	amiet
f si same age as ego	ju'k	h	no term
f si yg than ego	ju'k	h	no term
f br s ol than ego	ayɔŋ	w	ie
f br s same age as ego	no term	w	no term
f br s yg than ego	adɛi	w	ju'k
f br d	ju'k	h	no term
f si s	no term	w	no term
f si d ol than ego	ama'i	h	ie
f si d same age as ego	no term	h	no term
f si d yg than ego	adɛi	h	adɛi
br child	no term	w or h	no term
si s [addr: da'm]	ana'k	w	mtau
si d [" : bu? or ajau]	ana'k	h	mtau

Ego female

m	ami?		
m br ol than m	ua	w	ua
m br yg than m	amiet	w	amiet
m si ol than m	prɔŋ	h	prɔŋ
m si yg than m	mnɛh	h	mnɛh
m br s	no term	w	no term
m br d	ju'k	h	no term
m si s ol than ego	ayɔŋ	w	ie
m si s same age as ego	no term	w	no term
m si s yg than ego	adɛi	h	adɛi
m si d ol than ego	ama'i	h	ie
m si d same age as ego	no term	h	no term
m si d yg than ego	adɛi	h	adɛi

Ego female

h [addr: ayɔŋ]	u'ŋ		
h f	amiet		
h m	amiet		
h f f	ai		
h f m	aduon		
h m f	ai		
h m m	aduon		
h ol br	no term	w	no term
h yg br	adɛi	w	no term
h ol si	ju'k	h	no term
h yg si	ju'k	h	no term

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SOME CHOU AND HAN ARCHITECTURAL TERMS

by

ELSE GLAHN

In the oldest existing Chinese buildings from the middle of the T'ang period we find the bracket construction which transfers the weight of the roof to the columns fully developed. A complete bracket construction consists of a number of different members. (ill. 1). In Sung times they were called tou (1), bearing block, kung (2), bracket arm, fei-ang (3), flying lever and shua-t'ou (4), nosing head. It is most likely that the bearing block and the bracket arm were the first members to appear, and that a more complex combination of these two was tied together with a nosing head. Finally the flying lever (ill. 2), a pole placed obliquely in a bracket construction, its lower end carrying the eaves while the upper end is balanced by a purlin, must have been the last invention. It superceded the function of the nosing head and greatly improved the effect of the bracket construction.

The downmost bearing block situated on top of a column was called lu-tou (5), cap block, while the uppermost, carrying the eave purlin were called san tou (6), small blocks. The bracket arms at right angles to and protruding from the wall were called hua-kung (7), flower arms. The whole bracket construction was called tou-kung (8), block-arm.

Ever since neolithic times the roofs of Chinese buildings have been supported by wooden columns, the space between the columns being filled in with stamped clay. These non-bearing walls are vulnerable to the weather and must be protected by overhanging eaves. The overhanging eaves result in a heavy roof which, together with the need to broaden the span between the columns and protect the walls, inspired the development of the tou-kung construction.

Tou-kung in existing old buildings show the mature mastership of the Chinese carpenters. How this developed may to some extent be seen by comparing the explanations of ancient terms for the different tou-kung members with archaeological findings depicting them. Pictures of buildings are found on bronzes from the Chan-kuo period, on Han funeral stones and on tiles, on ch'üeh, gateway markers and ming-ch'i, clay houses. In a few cases wooden constructions are copied in stone in Han tombs. Ancient terms are listed in chronological order by the author Li Chieh (9) of the Sung building manual *Ying-tsao fa-shih* (10). He quotes the Classics in the cases where they mention a construction member, the Han and San-kuo dictionaries and further the descriptive *fu* from the same period as the dictionaries.

In some cases the old terms are not found in texts, only in dictionaries. They may have been dialect words or different ways of writing phonetically identical terms. In other cases the same term is written with different radicals to the same phonetic.

The glossary in the Ying-tsao fa-shih has seven entries about kung, the bracket arm.¹⁾ The first is from the dictionary Erh-ya (2nd century B.C.) and says: Pien wei chih chi yeh. Chu shang po yeh, i ming chien, yu yüeh t'a. Pien yin pien, chi yin chi. (11)²⁾ 'Pien is called chi'. (The commentary by Kuo P'u (276–324) is added:) 'a po on top of a column, also named chien, further called t'a'.

This entry gives as many as five different terms for bracket arm, two from early Han and three from Chin. The two first are pien (12) and chi (13) and the three last po (14), chien (15) and t'a (16). Pien with the door radical does not appear in the classics nor in the Wen-hsüan. In later dictionaries the term is written instead with the tree radical (17). The phonetic alone (18) occurs in the Odes³⁾ with the meaning 'cap'. Probably the earliest form of bracketing was as described in the second entry about bracket arms — a square piece of timber inserted horizontally between column and lintel to broaden the space between the columns.

Chi is only found in the Erh-ya and quoted from this in later dictionaries.

Po is explained in the Shuo-wen (100 A.D.) as po-lu, chu shang chien yeh (19),⁴⁾ 'po (in the expression po)-lu is a chien on top of column'. Po usually occurs together with the term for bearing block, lu (20). Po-lu seems to be an expression analogous with tou-kung meaning a whole bracket construction. Lu is explained in the third entry in the glossary about bearing blocks.

Chien is explained in the next entry in the glossary about bracket arms.

T'a is not found in the old texts. In the dictionaries before the Sung period it is placed under bracket arms. In Sung dictionaries it is explained as a bearing block as in the seventh entry in the glossary about bearing blocks.

The second entry about bracket arms is from the dictionary Ts'ang-chieh p'ien, attributed to the Ch'in historiographer Ts'ang Chieh (3rd century B.C.). It says: chien, chu shang fang mu (21),⁵⁾ 'chien is a square piece of timber on top of a column'. The dictionary as it exists today is reconstructed by Sun Chieh-wei (22) (1620–87) together with the seventh century dictionary to the Tripitaka, I ch'ieh ching yin i (23). In the present edition the text continues with a passage which surely is from the last dictionary: Shantung, Chiangnan, chieh yüeh chien, tzu Shan i hsi yüeh t'a, i ming pien, i ming chieh, i ming po-lu (24), 'In Shantung and Chiangnan it is called chien, in Shensi and westward it is called t'a, it is also called pien or chieh or po-lu'.

This could indicate, that t'a (16) has been a dialect word. Pien is here written with the tree radical instead of the door radical in the first entry (17). Chieh (25) is an old term for bearing block, treated in the second entry of the glossary for bearing blocks.

Chien appears already in the Chuang-tzu.⁶⁾ In his commentary to this Lu

Te-ming (556–627) says: *chien yin chi, yu yin chien*. Tzu-lin yün: *chu shang fang mu yeh*. Chien-wen yün: *po-lu yeh* (26). ‘Chien is pronounced *chi* or *chien*. Tzu-lin (3rd century A.D.) says: square piece of timber on top of a column. Chien-wen says: *po-lu*’. In his *Grammata Serica* (237,i) Karlgren prefers the pronunciation *chien* in this context with the meaning ‘cross-piece of wood on top of a pillar’.

The third entry is taken from the dictionary Shih-ming (2nd century A.D.). It says: *Luan, lüan yeh, ch’i t’i shang ch’ü lüan ch’üan jan yeh* (27).⁷⁾ ‘Luan is *lüan*, the upper side of the body is curved like a fist’. The expression *lüan-ch’üan* appears in *Chuang-tzu*⁸⁾ and Lu Te-ming explains it: *pu shen shu chih chuang yeh* (28), ‘shape of not-stretched out’.

In this entry the bracket arm has changed its shape from a ‘square piece of timber’ to be ‘curved like a fist’.

The fourth entry is from the *fu* about the Ling-kuang palace of the Prince of Lu, written by Wang Yen-shou (ca 124–ca 148). In the description of the roof construction as seen from the inside of the palace, the bracket constructions are dealt with in a couplet, the first half of which describes the bearing blocks and the last half the bracket arms. The first half is quoted by Li Chieh in the sixth entry in the glossary about bearing blocks and the last half constitutes the fourth entry about bracket arms. As the meaning is best understood in the contexts, the whole couplet is treated here. It says: *Ts’eng lu lei kuei i chi ngo, ch’ü chien yao shao erh huan kou* (29).⁹⁾ Soper¹⁰⁾ translates it: ‘The bearing blocks mount tier on tier to dizzy summits, the curved bracket arms meet in series forming chains (about the interior of the hall)’.

In his commentary to this passage in the *Wen-hsüan* Li Shan (–689) says: *Shuo-wen yüeh: po-lu, chu shang chien*. *Ts’ang-chieh p’ien yüeh: chien, chu shang fang mu*. *Jan chien lu wei i tz’u chung yen chih, kai you ch’ü chih chih shu erh, yao shao ch’ü mao* (30)⁹⁾ ‘Shuo-wen says: *po-lu* is a *chien* on top of a column. *Ts’ang-chieh p’ien* says: *chien* is a square piece of timber on top of a column’. (Then Li Shan adds in his own words) ‘but *chien* and *lu* make a complex expression, because there is a distinction between curved ones and straight ones. *Yao-shao* is a curved form’.

Li Shan is mistaken about the meaning of *lu* (20) in the first half of the couplet, where it can only have its usual meaning, bearing block. Li Shan regards it as identical with the whole expression *po-lu*, bracket construction, in the *Shuo-wen*, but here it means as mentioned above under the first entry, that *po* (in the expression *po*)-*lu* is a *chien* (15) on top of a column. Together with the explanation of *chien* in the *Ts’ang-chieh p’ien* as a square piece of timber on top of a column, Li Shan seems to regard *lu* (13) as a square capital or straight bracket arm in contrast to the curved bracket arm, *ch’ü chien* in the last half of the couplet.

It must be this commentary which lead v. Zach astray in his on the whole very fine translation of the *fu* about the Ling-kuang palace.¹¹⁾ He gives the couplet as:

‘Die dem oberen Ende der Säulen mehrfachaufgelagerten viereckigen Kapitäle türmen sich vertical auf, sie gehen in (nach aussen) konkaven Bogen in die nächsthöheren Lage über und bilden so ein Ring’. It is not the square capitals which go in concave curves and make a ring.

Li Chieh has added his own commentary to this entry: *ch’ü chien kung yeh* (32), a curved *chien* is a *kung*, bracket arm. *Kung* (2) is not used in this meaning until the Sung period.

The fifth entry is from the dictionary *Po-ya*, better known as the *Kuang-ya* (33) (227–232). It says: *po wei chih chien*, *ch’ü chien wei chih lüan*. *Chien yin ku yen*, *yu yin chi*. (34).¹²⁾ ‘*Po* is called *chien*, a curved *chien* is called *lüan*. *Chien* is pronounced *chien* or *chi*’. *Lüan* (35) with the hand radical seems interchangeable with *luan* (36) with the tree radical. Here *po* (14) and *chien* (15) stand for straight bracket arms, ‘square pieces of timber’, and *lüan* or *luan* for curved.

The sixth entry is from the commentary by Hsieh Tsung (–243) to Chang Heng’s *fu* about the Western capital. It says: *luan*, *chu shang ch’ü mu*, *liang t’ou shou lu che*. (37).¹³⁾ ‘*Luan* is a curved piece of timber on top of a column, both its ends receive bearing blocks’. Here the function of the bracket arm in combination with the bearing block is described.

The seventh and last entry about bracket arms is from the *fu* about the Wu capital, Soochow, by Tso Ssu (–306). It says: *tiao luan*, *lou chieh*. *Luan kung yeh*. (38).¹⁴⁾ ‘Carved bracket arms, engraved bearing blocks’. Li Chieh adds his own explanation: ‘*Luan* is *kung*’, bracket arm.

If these seven entries, listed chronologically, can be regarded as true descriptions of the *kung*, bracket arm, the earliest shape must have been a square, cap-like capital, *pien* (12) or *chien* (15). *Chien* (15) and *po* (14) are later described in contrast to a shape, ‘curved like a fist’, *luan* (36) and must therefore have been straight. Li Chieh, the Sung author of the *Ying-tsao fa-shih*, adds, that *luan*, the curved bracket arm is the same as *kung* (2), the Sung period bracket arm.

In the same chapter in the *Ying-tsao fa-shih*¹⁵⁾ is a glossary with seven entries about *tou* (1), the bearing block. The first entry is from the *Lun-yü* and says: *shan chieh*, *tsao chieh* (39).¹⁶⁾ ‘Mountain capitals and pond-weed kingposts’. The commentary to the *Lun-yü* by Pao Hsien (40) (–6–65) says: *chieh che erh yeh*. *K’o lou wei shan*. *Wen yen ch’i she-ch’ih*. (41). ‘*Chieh* is *erh*. Carved as a mountain. The text describes its luxury’. *Erh* (42) seems to have been the most common term for a bearing block during the Han period.

The passage in the *Lun-yü* describes a house built with improper luxury. ‘Mountain capitals and pond-weed kingposts’ appear in the *Li-chi* with the same meaning of undue luxury.¹⁷⁾

The explanation ‘carved as a mountain’ would indicate that the shape of the *chieh* (43), capital or cap block might have been round as a mountain-shaped member and can hardly have been a ‘square piece of timber’.

The second entry is from the *Erh-ya* and says: *Erh wei chih chien*. *Chi lu yeh* (44).¹⁸⁾ ‘*Erh* is called *chieh*’. (The commentary by Kuo P’u adds:) ‘That is *lu*’.

Chieh (25) in this entry was a homonym with chieh (43) in the first entry in the Sung period as the two words have the same rhyme and tone in the dictionary Chi-yün. It is most probable that the two characters are just two ways of writing the same word.

Lu (20) is described in the third entry quoted from the Shuo-wen. It says: Lu, chu shang fu yeh. Erh, chien shang piao yeh (45).¹⁹⁾ 'Lu is a fu on top of a column. Erh is the uppermost member on top of a bracket arm'.

This distinguishes between two different sorts of bearing blocks, one, the cap block on top of a column and the other, the small block on top of a bracket arm. But the explanation of lu (20), the cap block as fu (46) is rather misleading. Fu (46) appears in the fu about the Ling-kuang palace and is explained in a commentary by Li Chou-han (47), who says: fu, tou shang heng mu (48),²⁰⁾ 'Fu is a horizontal piece of timber on top of a bearing block'. It is also used in this meaning in the Ying-tsao fa-shih, where fu, cushion timber, supports a purlin inside a building and is placed on a bracket construction (ill. 2).

The two different sorts of bearing blocks are better explained and described in the fourth entry quoted from two passages in the Shih-ming. They say: lu tsai chu tuan, (ju) Tu-lu, fu wu chih chung yeh. And: Tou tsai luan liang t'ou, ju tou, fu shang yin yeh (49).²¹⁾ 'A lu is situated at the end of a column, it looks like a (climber from) Tu-lu and carries the weight of the building'. And 'a tou is situated at both ends of a curved bracket arm, it looks like a peck (measure) and carries the purlin above'.

Tu-lu (50) is mentioned in the Han-shu²²⁾ as the name of a foreign country where the people were very skilled at climbing poles. It became later the term for acrobats climbing poles. The cap block, later called lu-tou (5) on top of a column looks like such an acrobat on a pole, but whether there is any connection between the lu in the tu-lu and the lu in lu-tou is impossible to say.

Tou is the name for a receptacle, a dry measure (ill. 3) and it became with or without the tree radical the collective name for bearing blocks.

The fifth entry is quoted from the Po-ya and says: chieh wei chih lu. Chieh chieh ku wen t'ung yung (51).²³⁾ 'Chieh is a lu'. And the commentary: 'Chieh and chieh are synonyms in old texts'. The passage is not found in the present edition of the Kuang-ya, but it confirms the theory that chieh (25) and chieh (42) were synonyms.

The sixth entry is from the fu about the Ling-kuang palace. It is the first half of the couplet quoted in the fourth entry about the bracket arm and the whole passage is treated there. Li Shan is mistaken in his explanation to the lu (20), so the entry does not add anything to our knowledge about it. Li Chieh adds to the quotation: lu tou yeh (52) 'a lu is a tou'.

The seventh and last entry in the glossary about the bearing block quotes the Sung dictionary I-hsün. It says: chu tou wei chih t'a (53). 'A column bearing block is a t'a'. The dictionary which has now disappeared was written by Tou Yen (54), a contemporary of Li Chieh, who generally uses terms from this dictionary.

Exactly the same explanation is found in another Sung dictionary, the *Lei-p'ien* by Ssu-ma Kuang (55). The term *t'a* (16) was used with the meaning bracket arm in the commentary to the second entry about bracket arms. There the Tripitaka dictionary, *I ch'ieh ching yin i* (23) explains it as a term used in the Western parts of China. It is a very rare old term and later authors of dictionaries may have been unable to find text examples of it and thus did not understand its exact meaning.

In the earliest texts only the cap block on top of a column is described. It looks like a peck measure (ill. 3), a mountain or a climber on a pole, which suggests that it must have been round. The only difference between a bracket arm and a bearing block in the earliest texts is that the first is square and the second round. They must have had the same function, same as the capital on old Greek columns to make the roof rest more solidly on the columns. Only the shapes were different, not the functions. The square piece of timber became long and rectangular and was eventually carried by the round piece of timber.

In the third and fourth entry are distinguished between the cap block on top of the columns and the small blocks at each end of a bracket arm. It is only the combination of blocks and arms which can be called *tou-kung* (8), bracket constructions. In the Han texts are only mentioned *san tou* (6), small blocks at each end of a bracket arm, though it later was more common to have three small blocks, one at the center and one at each end of a bracket arm.

When the blocks and arms were combined in more complex constructions they may have been tied together with a *shua-t'ou* (4), nosing head as a stiffener. The only entry in the glossary in the *Ying-tiao fa-shih* about the *shua-t'ou* is later than the earliest entries about bracket arms and bearing blocks. It is from the *Shih-ming* and says: *shang ju yüeh chüeh t'ou*, *hsing ssu chüeh t'ou yeh* (56).²⁴ 'What is inserted above is called a sparrows head, the shape is like a sparrows head'. *Chüeh t'ou* (57) is the Han term for the Sung period *shua-t'ou* (4). Commentators of the *Shih-ming* regard the *chüeh-t'ou* to be the line of rafters which protrude at the eave, but this is a mistake.

Before the invention of the *hua-kung* (7), flower arm and the *fei-ang* (3) (ill. 2) flying lever, the simple bracket construction of the Han period seem to have been placed either on corbels or on horizontal poles as seen in clay houses (pl. 1).²⁵ When bracket constructions were made in more than one vertical increment it is likely that the horizontal pole was repeated in the next increment above and this became the *shua-t'ou* which tied the upper increment of the bracket construction together. The end protruding to the outside looked like a sparrows head.

Beams reaching from wall to wall in existing Chinese buildings are intersected with the bracket sets on top of the wall columns. They end in nosing heads which protrude to the outside of the building. As a stiffener within the bracket construction itself the nosing head became superfluous when the genius invention of the flying lever was made. Nosing heads still exist as members of bracket constructions in traditional Chinese buildings today, but where flying levers are used, the nosing heads are merely decorative.

In the glossary about flying levers in the Ying-tsao fa-shih²⁶) the first entry is from the Shuo-wen. It says: chien, ch'i yeh (58)²⁷) 'Chien is a stiffener'. Ch'i (59) is later a long horizontal piece of timber added in a gap of a construction to reinforce it, when it was too weak. There is a possibility that the chien (60) originally was the horizontal pole on which the bracket constructions carrying the eaves were placed, and which also functioned as a lever arm.

The following two entries are from the fu about the Ching-fu palace of the San-kuo Wei dynasty written by the third century author Ho Yen. The first entry says: fei-ang niao yung (61).²⁸) 'Flying levers like rising birds'. Li Shan says in his commentary: fei-ang chih hsing lei, niao chih fei (62). 'The shape of the flying lever is like the flight of birds'.

The next entry says: chien lu chüeh lo i hsiang ch'eng (63).²⁹) 'Levers and bearing blocks at a perilous height give mutual support'.³⁰) The ang in fei-ang is written either with the sun radical (3) or with the tree radical (64).

Terms for the flying lever are not found in the early texts and it is likely that the term chien (60) in the Shuo-wen does not have exactly the same meaning as the later fei-ang (3), but the last two entries seem to indicate that the flying lever as a vigorous oblique pole which balanced the overhanging roof was fully developed at the end of Han or beginning of the San-kuo period.

There are no wooden buildings left from the Han period to prove or disprove how valid the descriptions of construction members given in old dictionaries or commentaries are. There are on the other hand many descriptions of buildings in more solid material, bronze, stone tile or clay. Because of the problems involved in copying or describing complicated timber constructions in these different materials, the depictions cannot be regarded as completely naturalistic, some are clumsy and some naive. Still they show a variety of building constructions, show that one construction member can have a variety of shapes at the same period, they have not had the same conformity as known from later times. They also show examples of bracket arms and bearing blocks which correspond to descriptions in the texts.

Most of the depictions have relation to funeral rites and pictures of buildings are found in homage banquet scenes. Two bronzes with pictures of buildings are from the Chan-kuo period. One of them, a pei inlaid with gold and silver, shows an airy pavilion with overhanging roofs (ill. 4).³¹) The roof is carried by columns and on top of the column, between it and the roof, is inserted what looks like a square piece of timber. It would correspond to the pien (12), cap, in the Erh-ya.

This construction is developed a little further in the other Chan-kuo bronze, a hu decorated with vivid war scenes (ill. 5).³²) Between the battles is a sacrificial scene in an open pavilion. The roof of this pavilion is carried by columns on top of which two layers of square pieces of timber are inserted under the roof. The upper layer is wider than the lower one. This could be the beginning of the straight bracket arm, chien (15) as it is described in the Ts'ang-chieh p'ien.

In the stone wall pictures of some Han tombs the straight bracket arm is further

elaborated. In the pavilion of a banquet scene on the wall of the Hsiao-t'ang shan shrine (65) (pl. 2)³³⁾ the overhanging roof is carried by columns. Here three layers of increasing length are inserted between column and roof. The straight bracket arms are piled up without any use of bearing blocks. The division lines on these layers can only be decoration.

Straight bracket arms could be used in even more complicated ways as can be seen in a pavilion on the wall of the Liang-ch'eng shan shrine (66) (ill. 6).³⁴⁾ It is maybe not realistic to regard this as a true depiction. It is the only find until now where as many as seven straight bracket arms on top of each other can be seen, but more than three were very possible. The support of the roofs of the two gatetowers in a clay model shows how this construction can be used (pl. 1).

On several ming-ch'i, funeral clay houses, from the Han period are two straight bracket arms, one above the other. The lower one is carried by a bearing block situated on a corbel (pl. 3).³⁵⁾ At both ends of the arm are placed two bearing blocks which carry the upper bracket arm. On top of this again three bearing blocks carry the eave purlin.

During the Han period both straight and curved arms existed. On some of the ch'üeh, gateway markers, imitations of bracket constructions are carved out in stone. Some of these bracket arms have swelling curves. On the Kao-i ch'üeh in Ssuchuan (67) (pl. 4)³⁶⁾ are curved bracket arms whose upper sides look like clenched fists as described in the Shih-ming for the term luan (36).

That this shape continued for some time can be seen on a mural in the tomb of Hou hai tzu in Yunnan (ill. 7)³⁷⁾ from the Eastern Chin period. These swelling curved bracket arms may originally have been naturally curved tree branches.³⁸⁾

The curved bracket arms in the stone tou-kung of the Han tomb in Hsi-nan, Shantung (ill. 8)³⁹⁾ are more restrained. They are curved in segments as is the rule in existing buildings from later times. In the same tomb is a bracket construction which carries a broader span than the first mentioned. It has two additional bracket arms carved as dragons. They correspond to the bracket arms in the Imperial palace in Han time Ch'ang-an as described in the fu about the Western capital by Pan Ku (68).⁴⁰⁾

A bearing block which is a joint, the basic meaning of chieh (43), and can be carved as a mountain could be the cap blocks or capitals in the banquet pavilion on the wall in the Wu-liang shrine (ill. 9).⁴¹⁾

But when the cap block is used to support a bracket arm, straight or curved, it is no longer round except at the bottom. In later times the bottom fitted with the diameter of the column. The upper part of the bearing block is square or rectangular and wider than the bottom so as to be wide enough to contain the notch into which the bracket arm fits. The small blocks at each end of the bracket arm have the same shape but their bottom part is not wider than the bracket arm. The two sorts of bearing blocks in such a construction correspond to the description of the lu (20) and the erh (42) in the Shuo-wen and the lu (20) and the tou (1) in the Shih-ming.

The most common bracket construction in the Han period is one bracket arm carried by one cap block and carrying two small blocks, one at each end. This construction is commonly called 'i tou, erh sheng' (69), 'one peck, two pints'. Sheng (70) is a dry measure, one tenth of a tou. After Han the most common construction was 'i tou, san sheng', 'one peck, three pints' with one further small block at the middle. The short post on top of the cap block on the Kao-i ch'üeh (pl. 4) may have been the beginning of the third arm corresponding to the third small block. That fully developed 'one peck, three pints' constructions have existed already during the Han period can be seen on a tile from Ssuchuan (pl. 5).⁴²⁾

The bracket constructions discussed above have all been in one plane, either in the wall plane to broaden the space between two columns, or placed on a corbel or horizontal pole to carry a balcony or an eave. The third 'pint', the one in the middle, might be the construction member which becomes the hua-kung (7) flower arm, the only bracket arm at right angles to the wall. That this too has existed during the Han period is seen on a funeral tile from Ssuchuan (pl. 4).⁴³⁾ Though the picture is primitive and the bracket construction in the wall plane has only 'one peck, two pints', the roofs at the gables are carried by clearly defined flower arms.

In Han time depictions we only find bracket constructions of one horizontal projection, a pole, corbel or flower arm. In one of the oldest wooden Chinese buildings, the Great Hall of the Fo-kuang ssu (71) (ill. 10)⁴⁴⁾ from the year 857, a building of modest size, the bracket constructions are with four projections from the wall. The 'one peck, two or three pints' construction has only vertical increment, but in the Great Hall of the Fo-kuang ssu there are four increments, one above the other, in the same bracket construction.

This development must have been due to the invention of first the nosing head and then the flying lever. There is textual evidence that these two construction members existed at the end of or shortly after the Han period, but there is not much material proof. One reason may be that the flying lever was very difficult to depict in a wall sgraffito or a tile relief and even more difficult to copy in clay. The flying lever construction was also in later times reserved for monumental buildings as those described in the fu, whereas the clay houses depict more modest buildings.

There is a hint on a clay house from the University Museum in Pennsylvania (pl. 7). The bracket construction which carries the balcony has something 'inserted above' which could correspond to the description of the nosing head. Further the bracket construction is not placed on a horizontal pole or a corbel. It is impossible to see how it is placed, but it seems to be on an oblique member.

These theories about the most likely development of the Chinese bracket constructions are on the whole quite well documented by the old texts and to a considerable extent supported by archaeological finds. The rich archaeological finds from the recent years in China have tended to prove many of the old texts. Some day maybe they will prove this theory as well.

NOTES

- 1) Ying-tsao fa-shih, ch. 1, p. 8A, 1925 ed.
- 2) Erh-ya, ch. 4, p. 4A, Erh-ya kuo-chu, (72) SPPY ed.
- 3) Shih-ching, odes 55, 102, 152, 217, 220, 292.
- 4) Shuo-wen, ch. 6, p. 32. Shuo-wen chieh-tzu chu, Ching yün lou tsang pan ed. (73).
- 5) Ts'ang-chieh p'ien, ch. chung, p. 40, Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ed.
- 6) Chuang-tzu, ch. 1, p. 10B, SPPY ed.
- 7) Shih-ming, ch. 5, p. 15A, Shih-ming shu-cheng (74), 1896.
- 8) Chuang-tzu, ch. 4, p. 15B.
- 9) Wen-hsüan, ch. 11, p. 11A+B. SPPY ed.
- 10) Soper, Alexander C.: The Evolution of Buddhist Architecture in Japan, p. 97. Princeton 1942.
- 11) von Zach, E.: Das Lu-ling-kwang-tien-fu des Wang Wen-k'ao, p. 473. Asia Major 3. 1926.
- 12) Kuang-ya, ch. 7, pp. 81-82. Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ed.
- 13) Wen-hsüan, ch. 2, p. 6B.
- 14) Wen-hsüan, ch. 5, p. 9A.
- 15) Ying-tsao fa-shih, ch. 1, p. 9A.
- 16) Lun-yü, ch. 5,18, p. 5A. Lun-yü ho-shih teng chi-chieh (75) SPPY ed.
- 17) Li-chi, li-ch'i 19, ch. 7, p. 16B. Li-chi cheng-chu (76) SPPY ed.
- 18) Erh-ya, ch. 5, p. 4A.
- 19) Shuo-wen, ch. 6, p. 32.
- 20) Wen-hsüan, ch. 11, p. 12A.
- 21) Shih-ming, ch. 5, p. 5A.
- 22) Han-shu, ch. 96 hsia, p. 3928, Chung-hua shu-chü ed. 1960.
- 23) Kuang-ya, ch. 7, p. 82.
- 24) Shih-ming, ch. 5, p. 14B.
- 25) Sickman, I. and Soper, A.: The Art and Architecture of China. Plate 156 B. Penguin Books. 1960.
- 26) Ying-tsao fa-shih, ch. 1, p. 8B.
- 27) Shuo-wen, ch. 6, p. 38B.
- 28) Wen-hsüan, ch. 11, p. 17A.
- 29) Wen-hsüan, ch. 11, p. 17B.
- 30) Soper, Alexander C.: The Evolution of Buddhist Architecture in Japan, p. 100. Princeton 1942.
- 31) Ma Ch'eng-yüan: Man-t'an Chan-kuo ch'ing-t'ung ch'i shang ti hua-hsiang, pp. 26-30. Wen-wu, Vol. 10, 1961. (77)
- 32) Cheng Te-k'un: Archaeology in China, Vol. III, Chou China, p. 241. Cambr. 1963
- 33) Cheng Chen-to: Chung-kuo li-shih ts'an-k'ao t'u-p'u, ts'e 6, pl. 21. Shanghai 1947. (78)
- 34) Pao Ting, Liu Tun-chen and Liang Ssu-ch'eng: Han-tai chien-chu shih-yang yü chuang-shih. III. 5 C. Chung-kuo ying-tsao hsüeh-she hui-k'an, Vol. 5, no. 2. Peking 1934. (79)
- 35) Tenri University Museum.
- 36) Ssu-ch'uan Han-tai tiao-su i-shu, pl. 2 (80)
- 37) Yünnan sheng Chao-t'ung Hou Hai-tzu Tung-Wei pi-hua mu ch'ing-li chien-pao, pl. II, 1. Wen-wu, col 12,

1963. (81)

- ³⁸⁾ Pao Ting, Liu Tun-chen and Liang Ssu-ch'eng op. cit. p. 16.
- ³⁹⁾ Hsi-nan ku hua-hsiang shih-mu fa-chüeh pao-kao, p. 10. Shanghai 1957. (82)
- ⁴⁰⁾ Wen-hsüan, ch. 1, p. 6A.
- ⁴¹⁾ Pao Ting, Liu Tun-chen and Liang Ssu-ch'eng op. cit. ill. 4 A.
- ⁴²⁾ Hsin Chung-kuo tik'ao-ku shou-huo, pl. LXXXV, 2. Peking 1961. (83)
- ⁴³⁾ Chung-kuo ku wen-wu, pl. 30, Peking 1962. (84)
- ⁴⁴⁾ Liang Ssu-ch'eng: Chi Wu-t'ai shan Fo-kuang ssu chien-chu, p. 36. Chung-kuo ying-tsao hsüeh-she hui-k'an, Vol. VII, no. 1, Li-chuang, Ssuchuan 1944. (85)
- ⁴⁵⁾ The Horizon Book of the Arts of China, p. 93. New York 1969.

CHINESE CHARACTERS

48. 枅，斗上橫木。49. 釋名：盧在柱端，(如)都盧，負屋之重也。料在欂兩頭，如斗，負上櫨也。50. 都盧。51. 博雅：欂謂之櫨。節欂古文通用。52. 櫨料也。53. 義訓：柱斗謂之枅。54. 竇儼。55. 司馬光：類篇。56. 釋名：上久曰爵頭，形似爵頭也。57. 爵頭。58. 說文：櫨，櫨也。59. 櫨。60. 櫨。61. 何晏：景福殿賦：飛昂鳥踊。62. 飛昂之形類，鳥之飛。

63. 櫨 櫨 角落 以相承。64. 柳。65. 孝堂山。66. 兩城山。67. 高頤闕。68. 班固：西都賦。69. 一斗二升。70. 升。71. 佛光寺大殿。

NOTES 72. 爾雅郭注。73. 說文解字注，經韻樓藏版。74. 釋名疏證。75. 論語何氏等集解。76. 禮記鄭注。77. 馬承源：漫談戰國青銅器上的画像，文物。78. 鄭振鐸：中國歷史參考圖譜。79. 鮑鼎，劉敦楨，梁思成：漢代建築式樣與裝飾。中國營造學社彙刊。80. 四川漢代彫塑藝術。81. 雲南省昭通后海子來晉壁畫墓清理簡報，文物。82. 沂南古畫像石墓發掘報告。83. 新中國的古收穫。84. 中國古文物。85. 梁思成：記玉臺山佛光寺建築，中國營造學社彙刊。

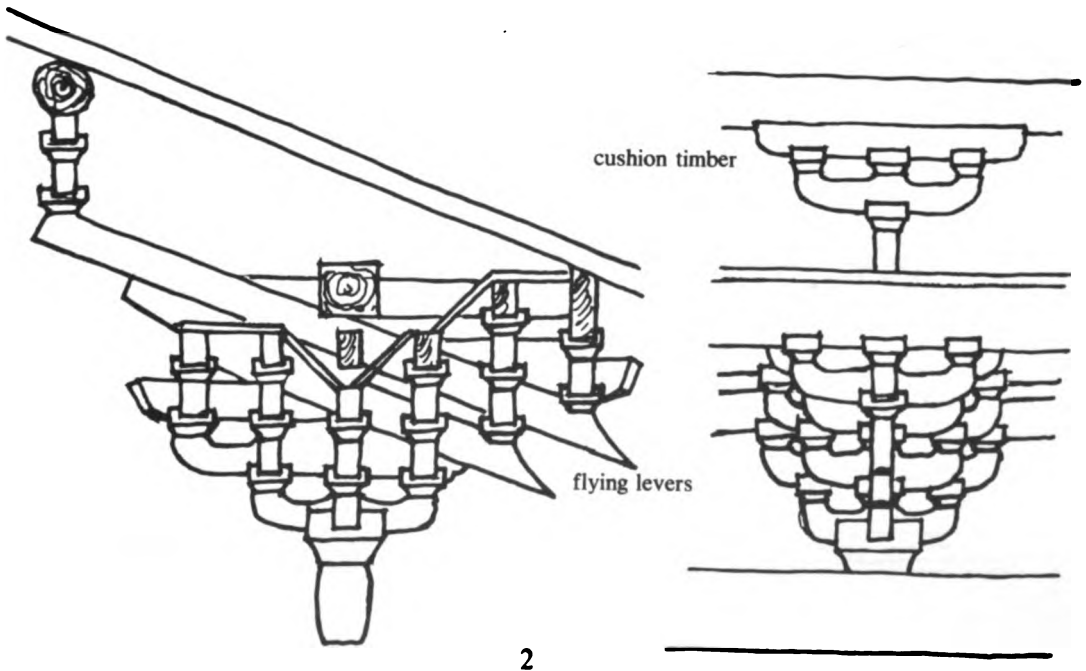
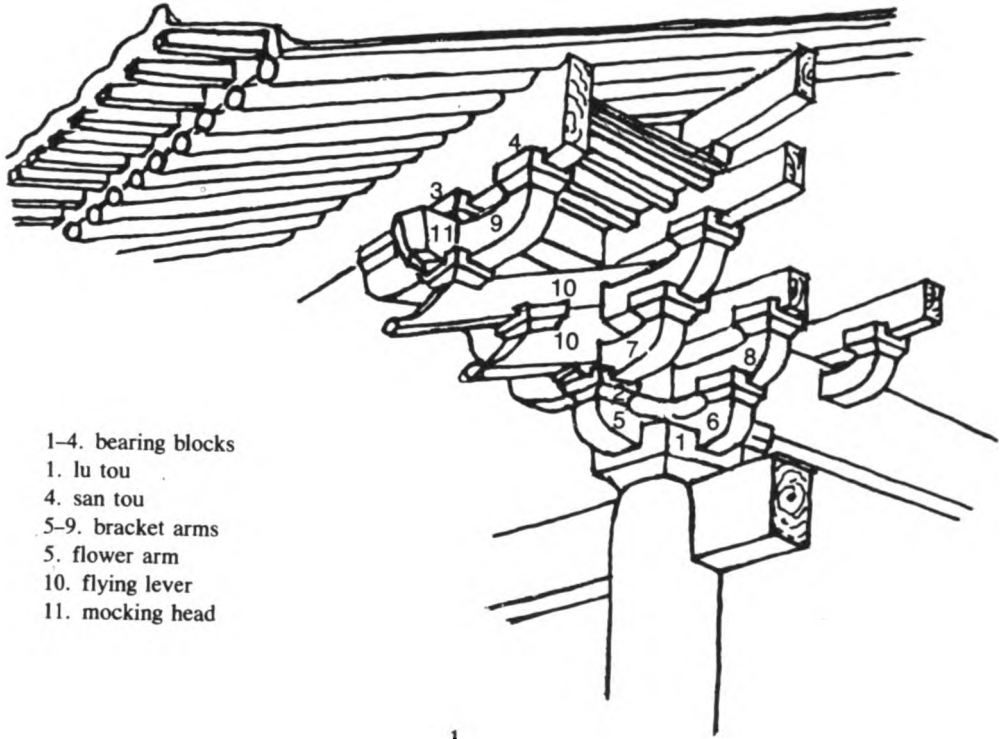
1. 枓 2. 拱 3. 飛昂 4. 耍頭 5. 櫨枓 6. 散枓 7. 華拱
 8. 枓拱 9. 李誠 10. 營造法式 11. 爾雅：開謂之櫨。柱
 上櫨也，亦名枓，又曰楷。開音弁。櫨音疾。 12. 開 13. 櫨
 14. 櫨 15. 枓 16. 楷 17. 枓 18. 弁 19. 櫨櫨，柱上枓也。
 20. 櫨 21. 蒼頡篇：枓，柱上方木 22. 孫枝蔚 23. 一切經音義
 24. 山東，江南，皆曰枓。自陝以西曰楷，亦名枓，亦名櫨，
 亦名櫨櫨。 25. 櫨，案 26. 枓音維，又音肩。字林云：柱上方木也。
 簡文云：櫨櫨。 27. 釋名：櫨，攀也，其體上曲攀拳然也。
 28. 不伸舒之狀也。 29. 王廷壽：魯靈光殿賦：層櫨磬佹
 以岌岌，曲枓要紹而環句。 30. 善曰：說文曰：櫨櫨，柱上枓。
 蒼頡篇曰：枓，柱上方木。然枓櫨一此重言之，蓋有曲直之
 殊爾。要紹，曲貌。 31. 櫨櫨。 32. 曲枓，拱也 33. 廣雅。 34. 博雅：
 櫨謂之枓。曲枓謂之攀。枓音古妍切，又音維。 35. 攀
 36. 櫨。 37. 薛綜，西京賦注：櫨，柱上曲木，兩頭受
 櫨昔。 38. 左思，吳都賦：彫櫨，鏤案。櫨，拱也。
 39. 語：山節藻梲。 40. 包咸。 41. 節者桷也。刻鏤為山。
 文言其奢侈。 42. 桷 43. 節 44. 爾雅：桷謂之桷。即櫨也。
 45. 說文：櫨，柱上桷也。桷，枓上標也。 46. 桷 47. 李周翰。

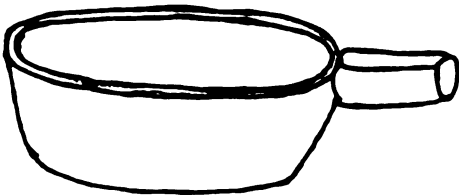
ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Bracket construction.
2. Bracket construction, cross section.
3. Peck measure.
4. Pavilion on a Chan-kuo Bronze.
5. Pavilion on a Chan-kuo bronze.
6. Straight bracket arms, Liang-ch'eng shan.
7. Curved bracket arms, Hou Hai-tzu.
8. Stone bracket arm, Hsi-nan.
9. Bearing block, Wu-liang shrine.
10. Bracket construction, Great Hall of Fo-kuang ssu.

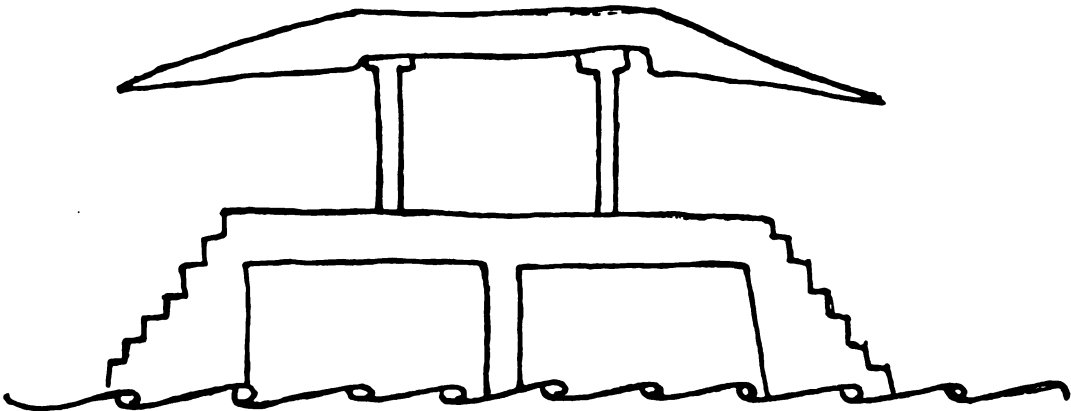
PLATES

1. Clay house. Nelson Gallery, Kansas City.
2. Wall sgraffito, Hsiao-t'ang shan.
3. Clay house, Tenri Museum.
4. Curved bracket arm, Kai-i ch'üeh.
5. One peck, three pints, funeral tile.
6. Flower arm, funeral tile.
7. Clay house, University Museum, Pennsylvania.

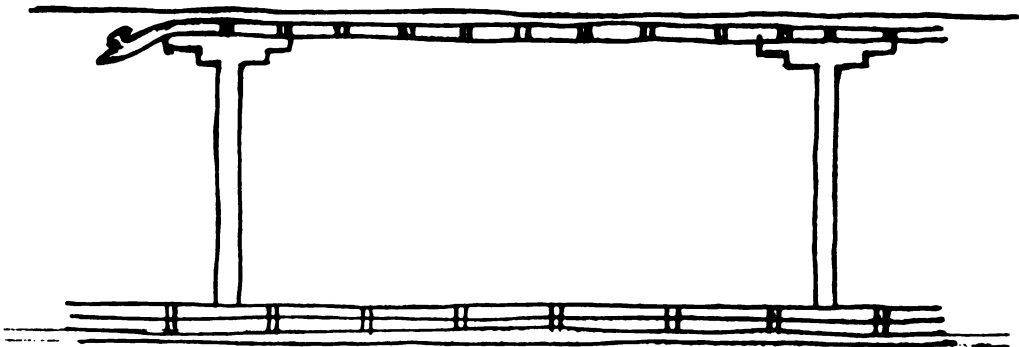




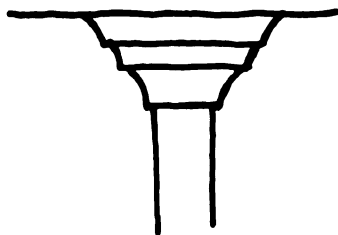
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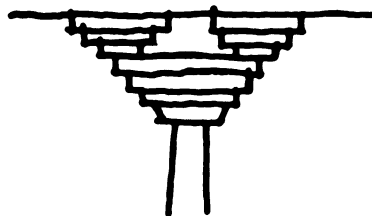
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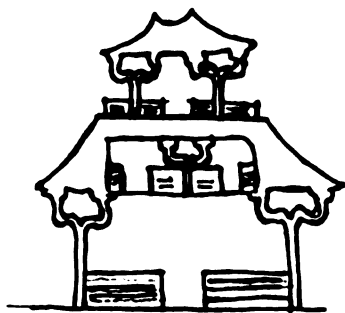
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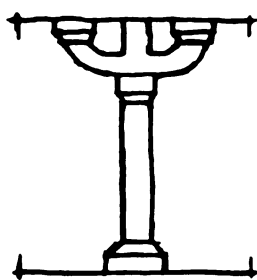
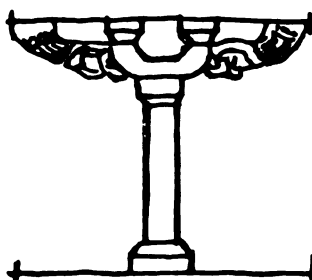
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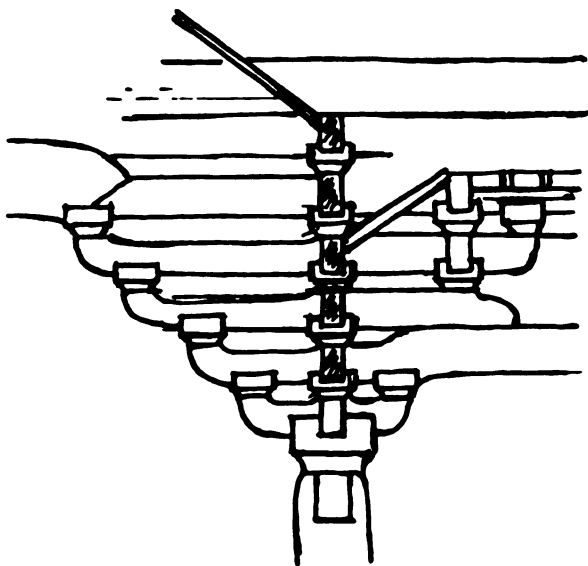
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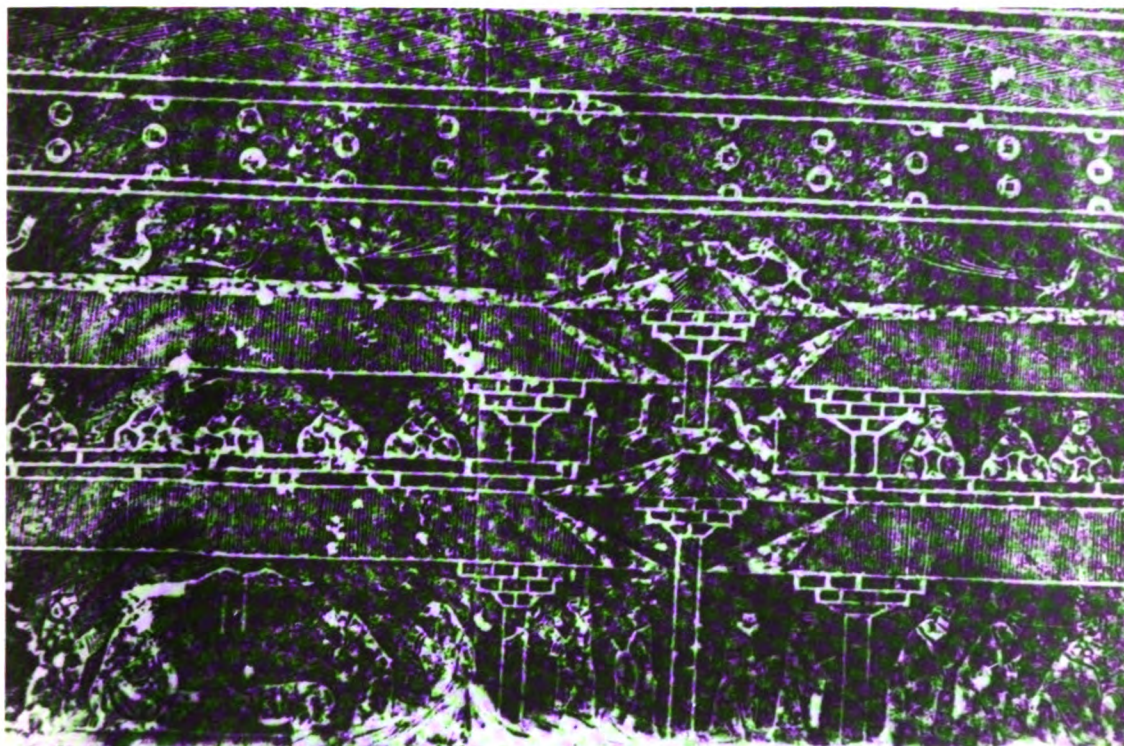


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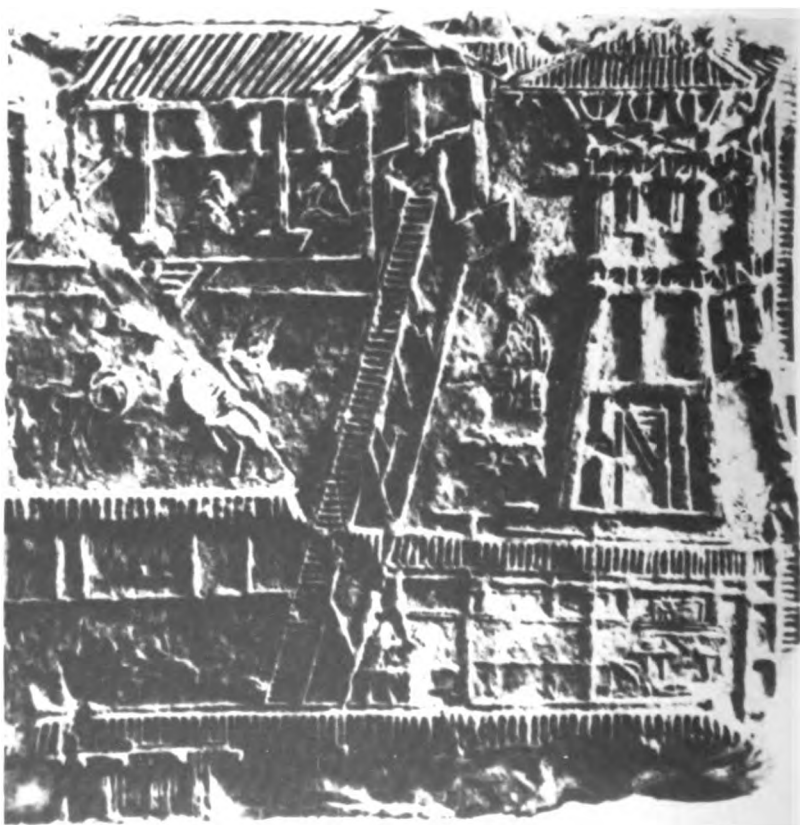
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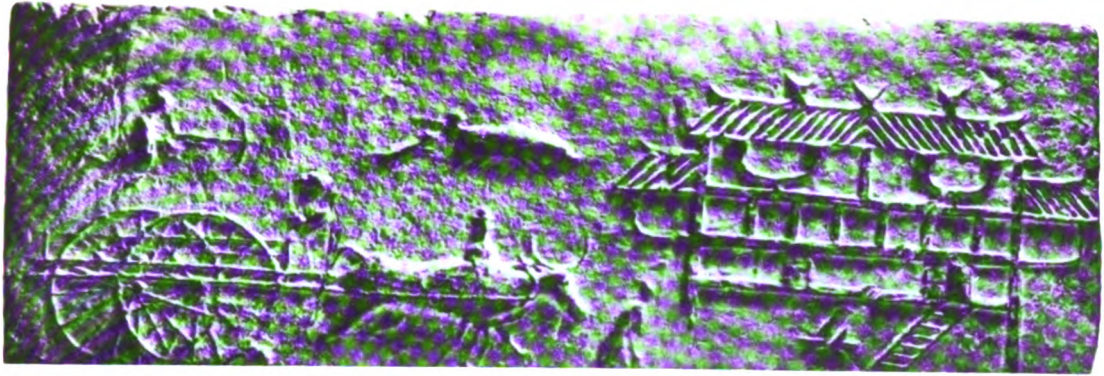
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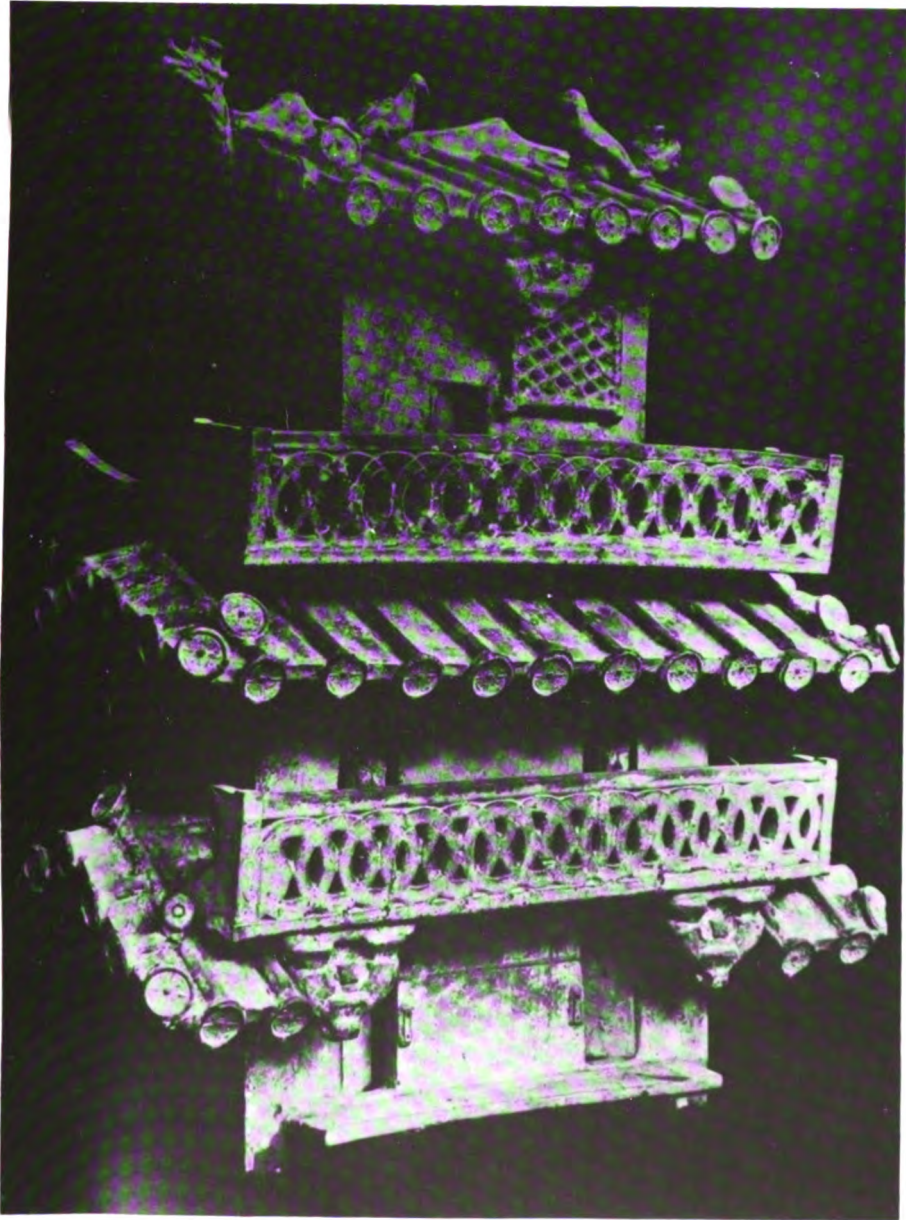
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TWO CHINESE TOPOGRAPHIC PAINTINGS IN THE CHINESE PAVILION AT DROTTHINGHOLM

by

BO GYLLENSVÄRD

The small Chinese pavilion at the royal palace of Drottningholm close to Stockholm was first built in 1753 and given as a birthday present to Queen Lovisa Ulrika by her husband King Adolf Fredrich¹⁾. It was built *à la chinoise*, e.g. in an exotic style which in the 18th century was supposed to be Chinese. The three small buildings were made of wood coated with plaster and decorated with palm-trees in the corners and Chinese heads above the windows and other fancy details in red, green and yellow. From contemporary descriptions we know that the rooms were furnished with both Western and Chinese items such as lacquer screens and cabinets, porcelain and various small objects, which had been collected by the Swedish Queens since the middle of the 17th century. When the Summer palace was rebuilt in a larger size and in more solid material ten years later, the collections had increased considerably, which can be seen in an inventory of 1777. Among all the different objects such as porcelain, lacquer, wood, clay, textiles etc. there were also some paintings, handscrolls as well as albums, which to a great extent still exist. The albums contain the famous Keng Shih-t'u, illustrating rice- and sericulture, one describing tea culture and two other albums are filled with bright coloured pictures of flowers, birds and insects. This type of illustration was very popular information about Chinese customs and peculiarities which were carried home by the East India Companies to the Western countries and are still found in many earlier European collections.²⁾ More uncommon are, however, the handscrolls also listed 1777 but imported to Sweden before that. One is a long riverlandscape from the attractive area of Ho Yang at Huang-ho and dated to 1619. The other is a handscroll, now mounted as an album, which describes the Pearl river from Bocca Tigris up to Kanton and further west. For various reasons this painting, now without date or signature, can be dated to the beginning of the 18th century before 1743. Both these paintings are of special interest as they are authentic Chinese landscapes and figure renderings which were not specially made for the western world as were so many later paintings from Kanton, mainly showing the European Factories in the western suburbs of Kanton. A good reason to acquire paintings like these to our

country in the 18th century was that the Swedish East India Company had started 1731 and a direct trade was opened up between China and our country.³⁾

The serious interest for China in Sweden had already started in the 17th century but the information had to come mainly through Holland and the publications which appeared were printed in Amsterdam, Vienna and Paris. The most famous were: Martinus Martini: *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, Wien 1655; Athanasius Kircher: *China Monumenta Illustrata*, Amsterdam 1667; Johannes van Nieuhof: *Gesandtschaft der Ostindischen Gesellschaft an den Chinesischen Keiser*, Amsterdam 1669; Olfert Dapper: *Beschyving des Keizerreichs van Taising of Sina*, Amsterdam 1670; Lois le Comte: *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état de présent de la Chine*, Paris 1696. Some of the engravings for instance in Kirchers work had obviously been copied from Chinese paintings, but most of them are rather fanciful. The views from Kanton in Nieuhofs book (Pl. 1, 2) give an idea of how a Chinese subject was tranformed into European style to suite the western reader. The Great Wall published by Kircher is still more inaccurate (Pl. 3).

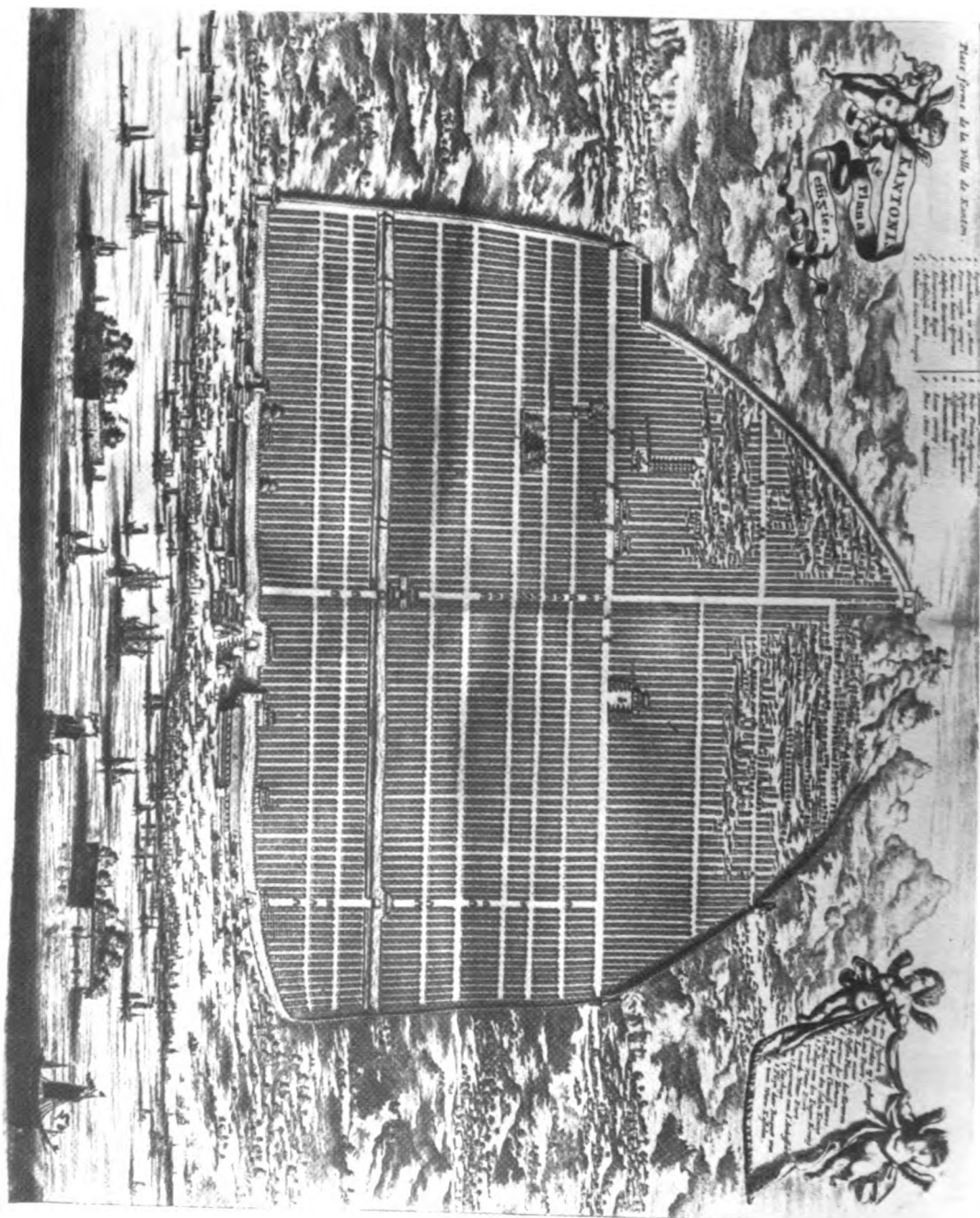
The main reason that so few Chinese landscape and figure paintings reached Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries was undoubtedly the critical attitude towards their artistic quality, shown by westeners. Representative is the Jesuit scholar Alvarez de Semedo's judgment of 1641 which is quoted by Michael Sullivan in his book *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art*.⁴⁾ "In Painting, they have more curiosities than perfection. They know not how to make use of either Oyles or Shadowing in the Art. But at present there are some of them, who have been taught by us, that use Oyles, and are come to make perfect pictures." This opinion was repeated again and again by Europeans until the end of the 19th century.

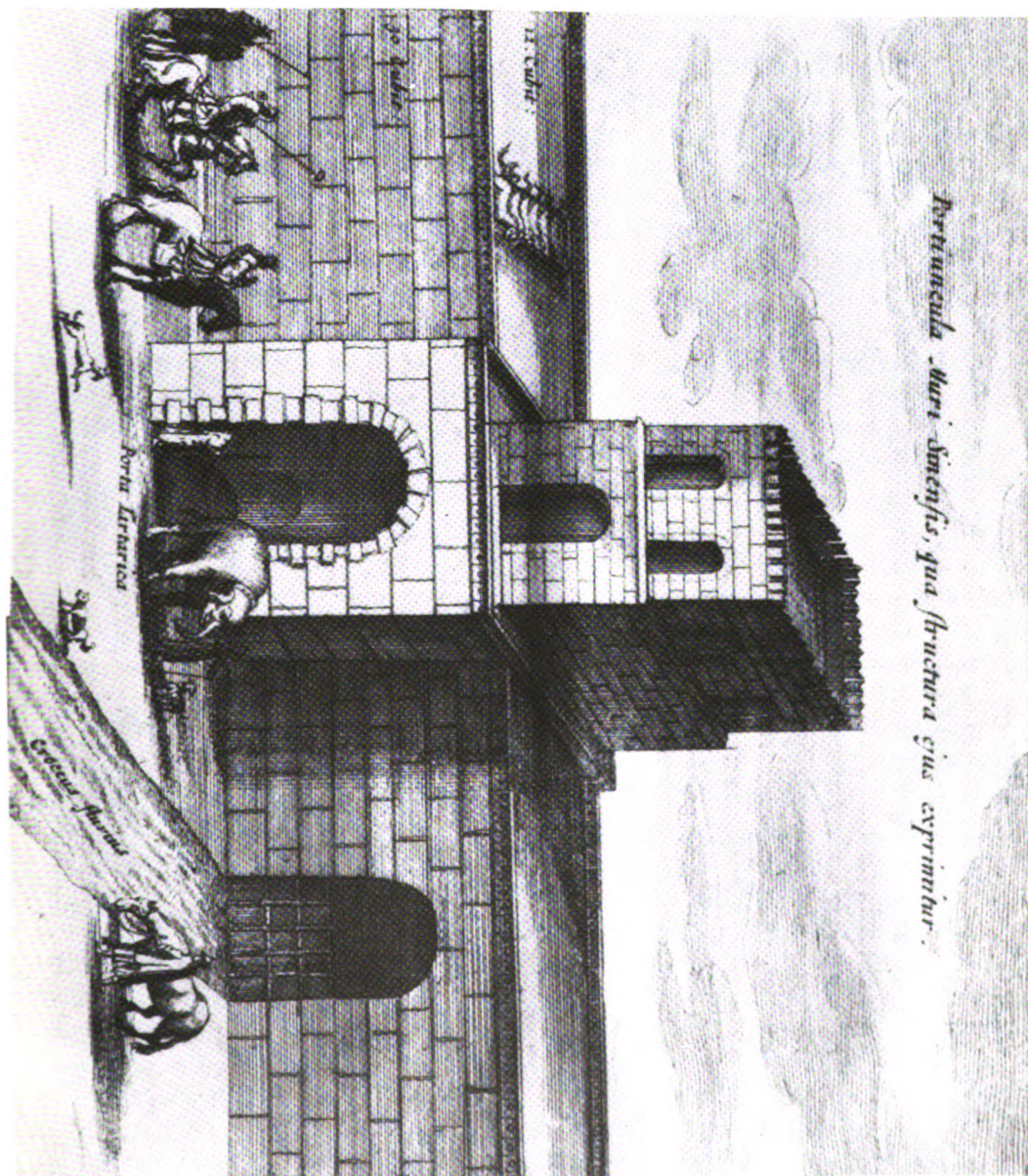
The first recorded Chinese painting so far known in Sweden is the one mentioned in the correspondance between our minister in Paris, Daniel Cronström, and the royal architect Nicodemus Tessin the younger.⁵⁾ The 8th of April 1705 Cronström writes to Tessin ... "Je vous envoiroy par le Sr. Gedda, cydevant mon secrétaire, une petite estraine que je vous prie d'agréer. C'est un rouleau de papier de la Chine sur lequel est peint dans le goust de ce pays là le Roy de la Chine marchant en pompe, ou avec appareil; tout cela est faict à la Chine et est venu par les vaisseaux de la compagnie francoise des Indes venus depuis peux."

Tessin writes back 22nd of April 1705: "Vostre estraine du dessein de la pompe du Roy de la Chine sert d'accroys à tout ce que je vous dois déjà et je vous en suis très redevable; cela sera bien particulier selon ce que je m'imagine et conviendra assez avec le reste de mes festes."

The main reason for Tessin acquiring a genuine Chinese figure painting was to get illustrations which could give him ideas for the court masquerades which were popular at that time.⁶⁾ The young King Charles XII was most interested in such arrangements and in 1700 at a masquerade he was dressed as a Chinese with







a more grotesque than authentic costume made after drawings by the French artist Bérain.

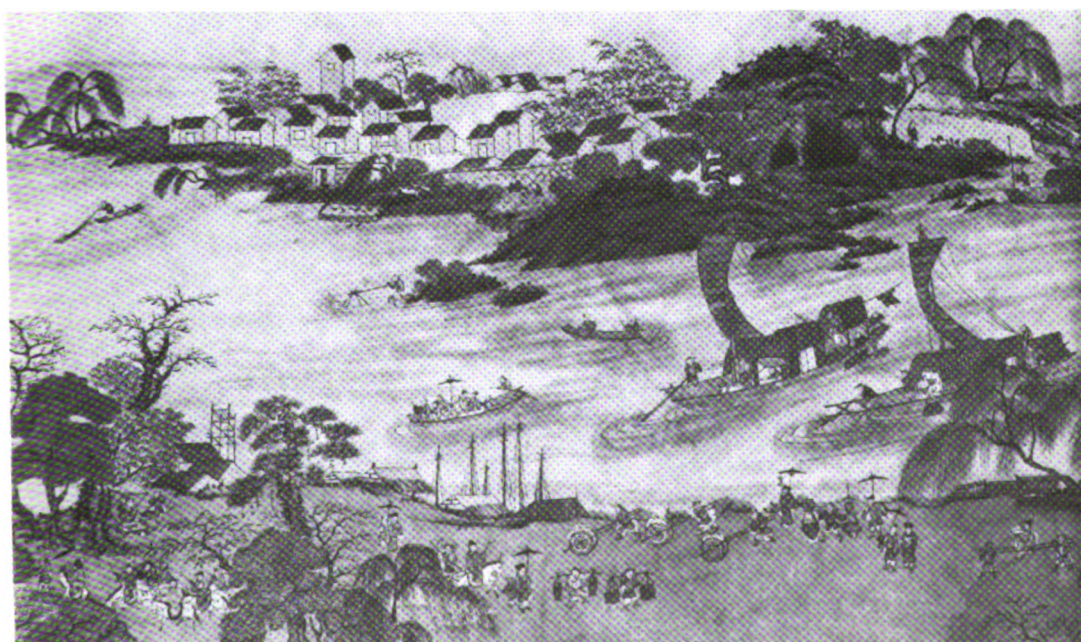
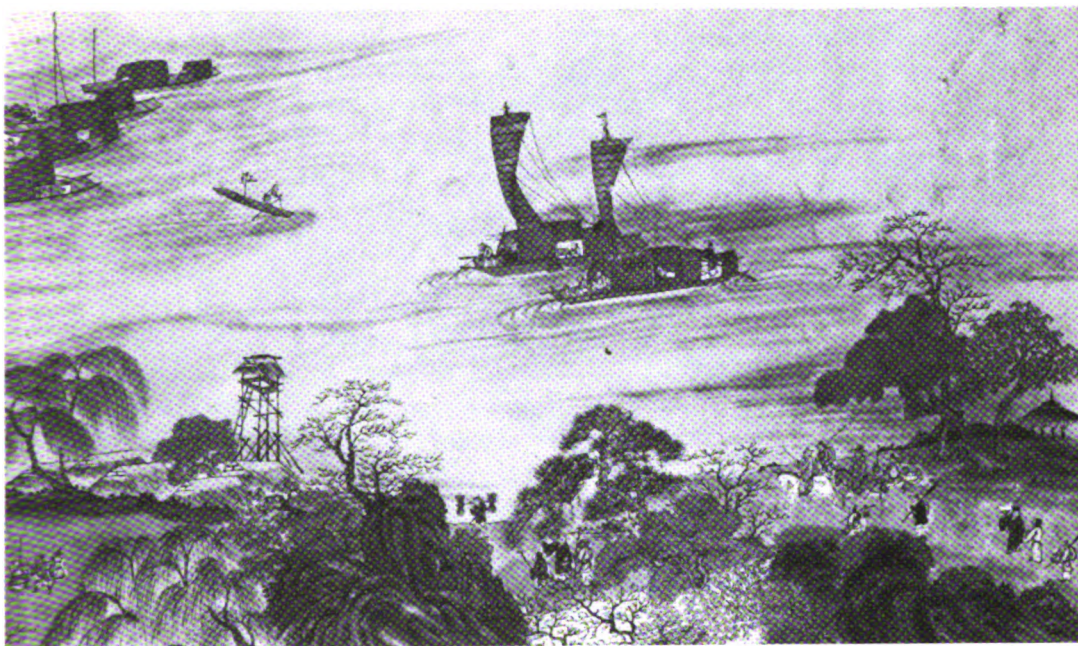
When the two handscrolls we are going to describe arrived, the interest for China had deepened considerably in our country and books had been printed about the Far East also in Sweden.⁷⁾ In royal palaces, mansions and private homes of the wealthy Chinese arts and crafts were collected and rooms in Chinese taste were installed, very often with wallpapers in bright colours, lacquer screens and mirrors all decorated with landscapes, flowers, birds and insects. First of all Chinese porcelain was imported in great quantities to be used as table services, but also for decoration. With all these exotic objects it must have been of great interest for the royal family and all the guests who were invited to informal entertainments in the small Summer palace at Drottningholm to learn more about China and thus study the two landscape paintings.

1. *River landscape*, depicting the area around and east of the city Ho Yang, which is equivalent to Meng Hsien at the Yellow river. Painted in Indian ink, colours and gold on paper. Length 958 cm height 30,5 cm. Signed Wang Tzu-ch'ing and dated to 1619.

The painting describes the life of the people on the road along the river, on the water and in the villages and cities. The road passes along the river shore, — now on one side and now on the other — through villages, on bridges and strips of land, now and then disappearing behind cliffs and trees. It ends at Meng Hsien. The hand scroll is very rich in descriptive details which are representative of the country side in central China in the late Ming period and well worth closer study. Let us follow a traveller along the road and see what he meets on his way.

The painting has been slightly cut at the beginning where three men on horseback are passing some pedestrians. (Pl. 4) A small open thatched pavilion is placed at the water and shadowed by large trees. The road then disappears behind trees and rocks but appears again in the foreground. On the wide river two houseboats are passing each other to the right and two others lower down opposite an island with a small village. Around the island several sampans are anchored and fishermen are seated in their boats: one is standing on a barge with his hoop-net. Along the road in the foreground a man is carried in his open sedan-chair, farmers are pulling their two-wheeled carts and carrying loads on their stocks. Officials are holding umbrellas. Behind are big willows and a watch tower at the shore. On the stream a party is being ferried across towards another village with a temple on the other shore, partly hidden behind high cliffs and big trees. (Pl. 5) The pagoda rises above the trees and there are bells hanging from the roofs. Along the road is an inn, wine and tea-shops; meat, poultry and fruit is sold on the street and people are strolling about or resting. Beside the entrance to the temple is an altar with a man kneeling, offering. Further to the left a man is seated on a bench eating under a thatched pavilion and a servant is preparing tea.

The road now goes on in the middle of the painting on a strip of land with water



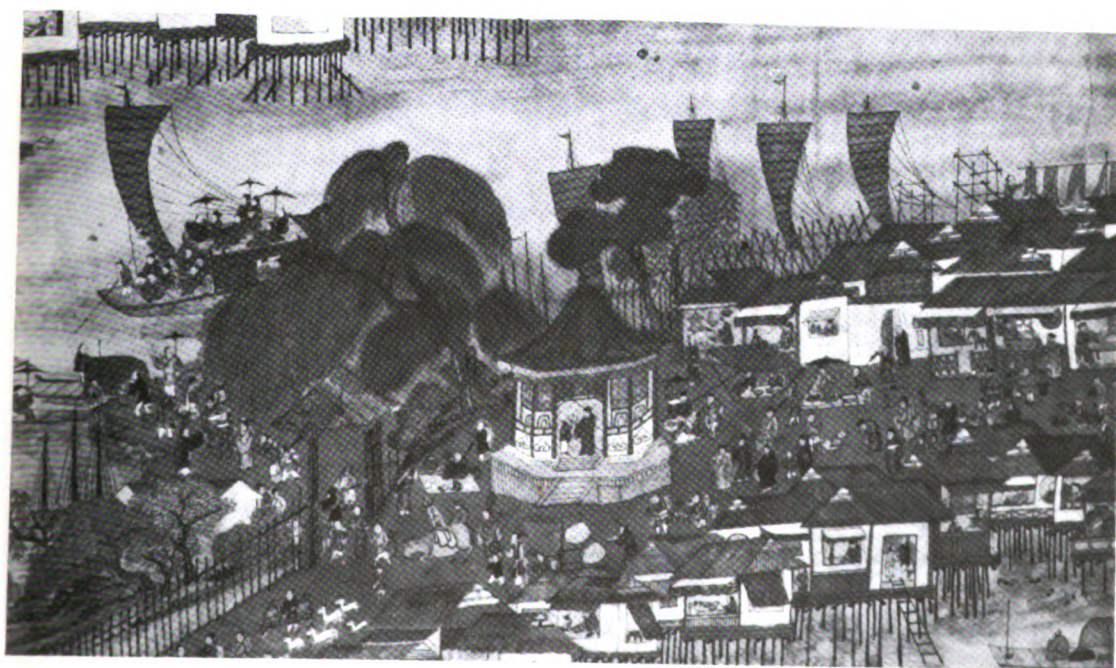


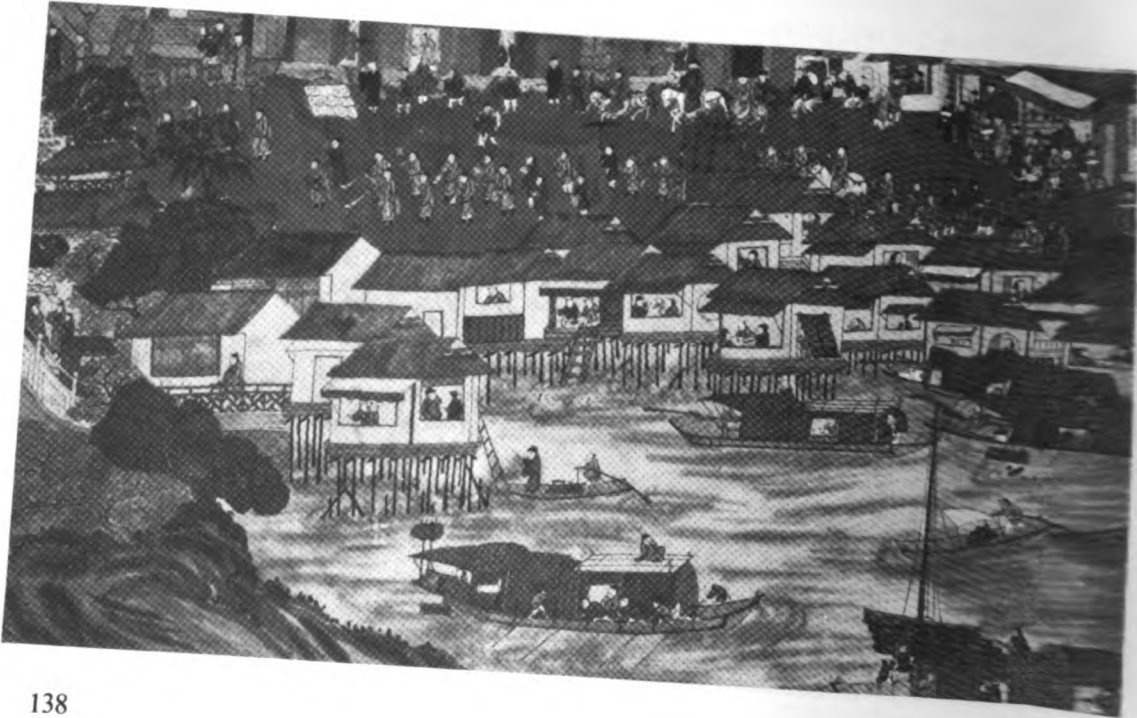
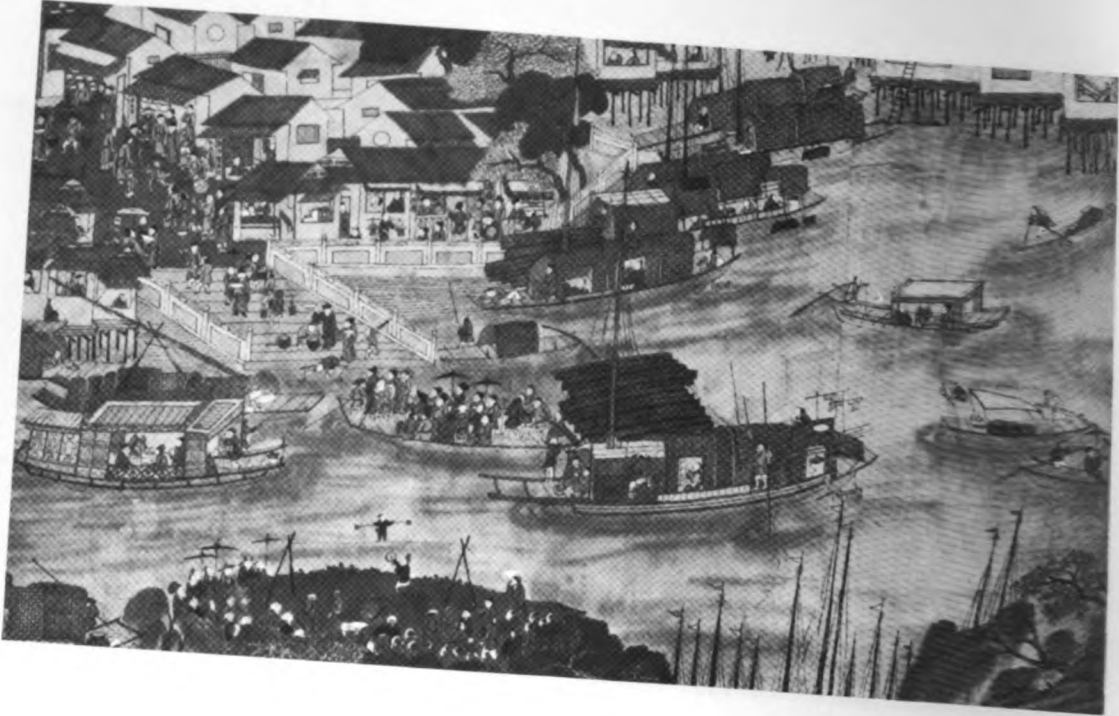
on both sides. People are walking and riding in both directions, and a closed sedan chair is being carried towards the right; along the road are willows, pines and other green trees. In the foreground two boys are riding water-buffaloes through the water. On the river behind, two house-boats are being pulled upstream by six respectively three men holding long ropes fixed to the masts. (Pls 5, 6) Downstream four other house-boats are sailing, one comes too close to the dangerous cliffs and the other two float slowly alongside. The road here passes an inn shadowed by a bamboo grove where people are eating both indoors and outside on the shore.

In the following section the road continues over a brick bridge on arches covered with wooden planks and making an angle with water-eroded rocks. There are men on horseback on the bridge, one carried in an open sedan-chair and another pulled in a cart. On the river there are fishing boats with hoop-nets and throwing-nets. From the bridge the travellers come to another village situated on a small island with the houses in the foreground on pillars in the river. (Pls 6, 7) Through the village the road widens into a market place where people are passing with loads of vegetables, fruit and beverages and a farmer is driving his pigs. Various shops are open in the market, offering wine, medicine, etc. A fishmonger has his shop on the left. Other salesmen have open stands in front of the houses and are offering fruit, etc. for sale. On a terrace in a twelve sided building in bright red, yellow and gold an official is receiving a visitor. Beside the pavilion is a fortune teller seated on a mat and a geomancer is walking along followed by cripples. In the background sails and tall buildings are seen and textiles are hung for drying. The houses on the shore in the foreground are used for entertainments. Guests are seated at the windows and ducks are swimming around underneath the houses. To the left of the pavilion a pedlar seated on a mat is selling boots and shoes. Here the road turns towards the foreground along a fence with a gate, where a man is driving his goats and another man is advertising ointment. Through the gate people are going to ferries and other boats that transport them to the city on the opposite shore. In one of the houses built over the water a woman is seen at her loom, and on the river a big boat floats with a party seated on the roof.

The following section represents a city on the further shore of the river. (Pl. 8) A ferry with passengers is about to land at a broad flight of steps leading out of the water. Djonks, house-boats, floating restaurants, sampans and smaller boats are scattered on the river below the city. In an open space in the foreground, close to the river, a crowd of people are collected around a rope-dancer. The road, however, goes on through the city on the further shore and a wedding procession lead by musicians moves along with the bride carried in a big red sedan-chair. There are houses on both sides of the street, and in the background various shops and houses from where people are peering curiously through the doors. Musicians play in front of the shops close to the shore. Along the water, dwelling houses are built on pillars and boys are swimming.







The street then leads on to a high bridge under which boats are sailing. An official on horseback rides over the bridge with his attendants carrying yellow canopies and standards. (Pl. 9)

Again on the river there are a variety of boats, in one musicians are playing for two young men who are being served tea. The next section depicts an open market place in the foreground with various shops. (Pl. 9) The place is crowded with people in different occupations. Among them are carpenters sawing planks and a wrestling competition takes place on the right. Further away is a theater stage with actors performing — obviously a scene from a classical opera with two warriors fighting, one a general. A big crowd is enjoying the play and the children have climbed into the trees to see better. In two of the shops live animals are sold, probably dogs, together with slices of meat. To the left of the theatre an acrobat is climbing a high pole, his head hanging down. In the background there are houses built on pillars in the water.

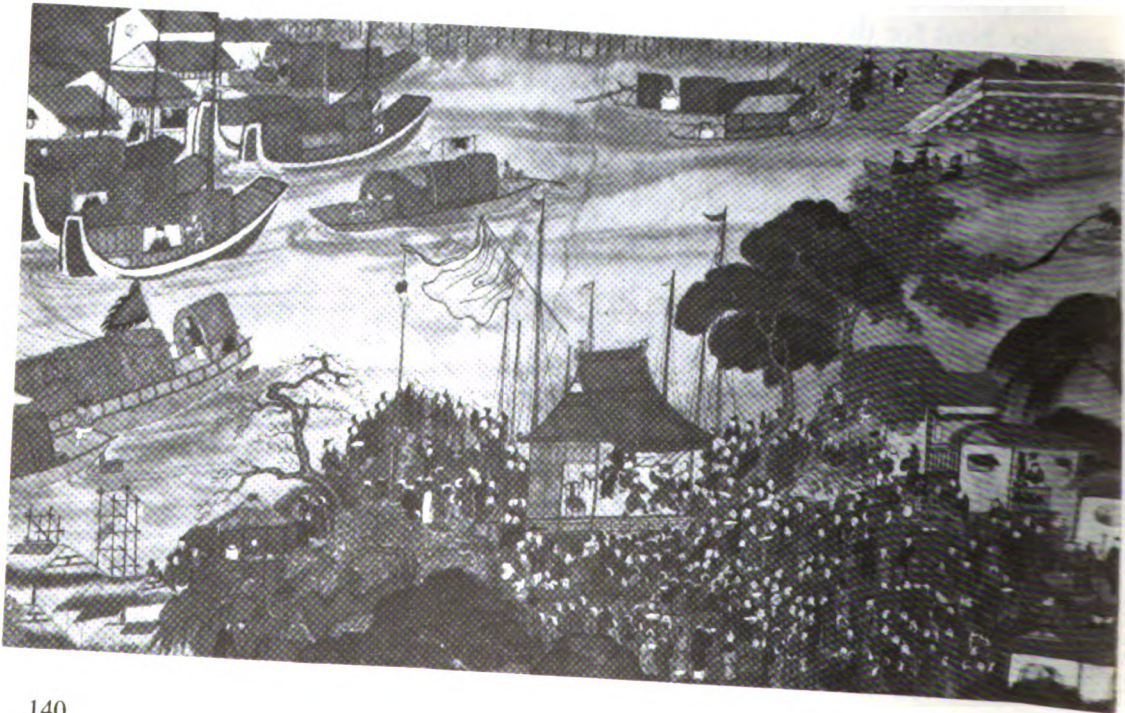
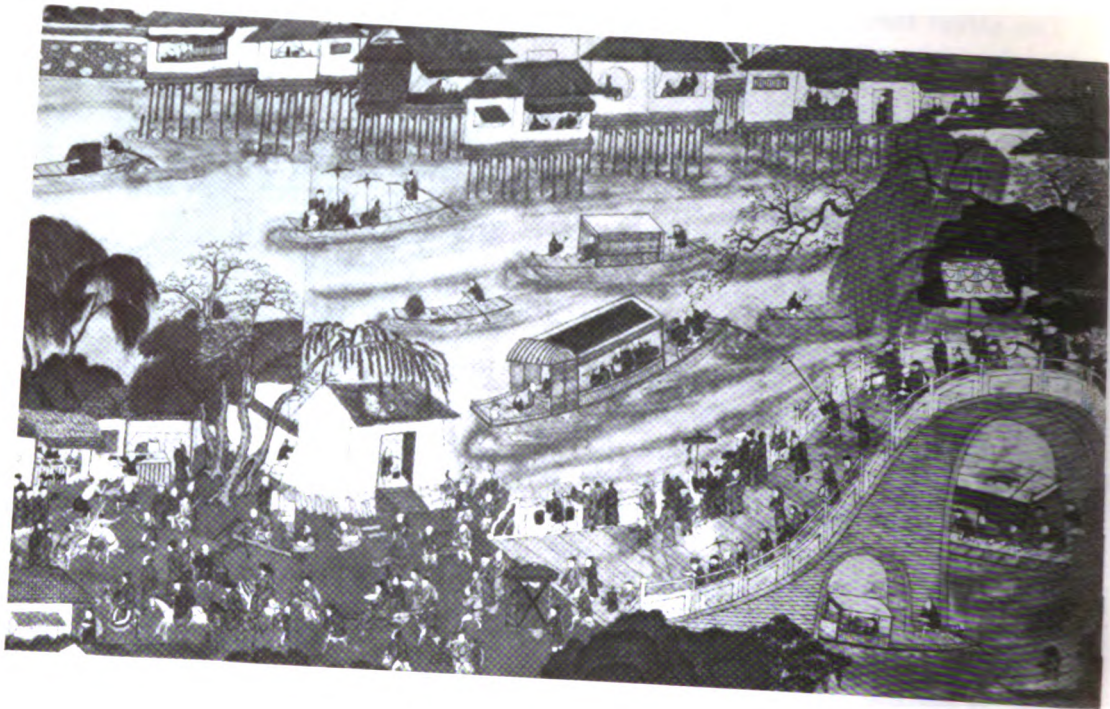
In the last section of the scroll the city wall of Ho Yang (Meng Hsien) runs along the river with shops and houses built in front of it. (Pl. 10) Many houseboats and djonks are anchored at the shore and other boats wove on the water. On the foreground shore there is a temple with a circular pagoda. Through a gate in the city wall an official on horseback is riding towards the shore. Hills, mountains and big trees partly hide the city wall and come close to the foreground where the river is narrow. There are big ships with flying flags on the water, and behind them a high bridge. (Pl. 11)

The painting ends with five big war-djonks carrying soldiers in armour and one smaller boat for the admiral (?) sailing from another gate in the wall. (Pl. 11) A person of high military rank rides out of the city gate and soldiers march along the shore to salute the departing war-djonks. On the top of a tower with flags flying a troop of soldiers salute the djonks. All the warships have oars and sails and the oarsmen are seen in the open lower deck. On each djonk a captain (?) is seated on deck surrounded by his soldiers. Flags denote the position of each ship in the fleet: The front, the right wing, the left wing, the centre and the rear. The fleet is sailing towards the empty space of the painting where low mountains in light-blue are seen in the distant. (Pl. 12)

The painting is signed and dated: Wan-li chi wei ku wu Wang Tzu Ch'ing chih, which means "painted by Wang Tan Ch'ing from Suchow in the chi wei year of Wan-li". The painter can not be found in any records.

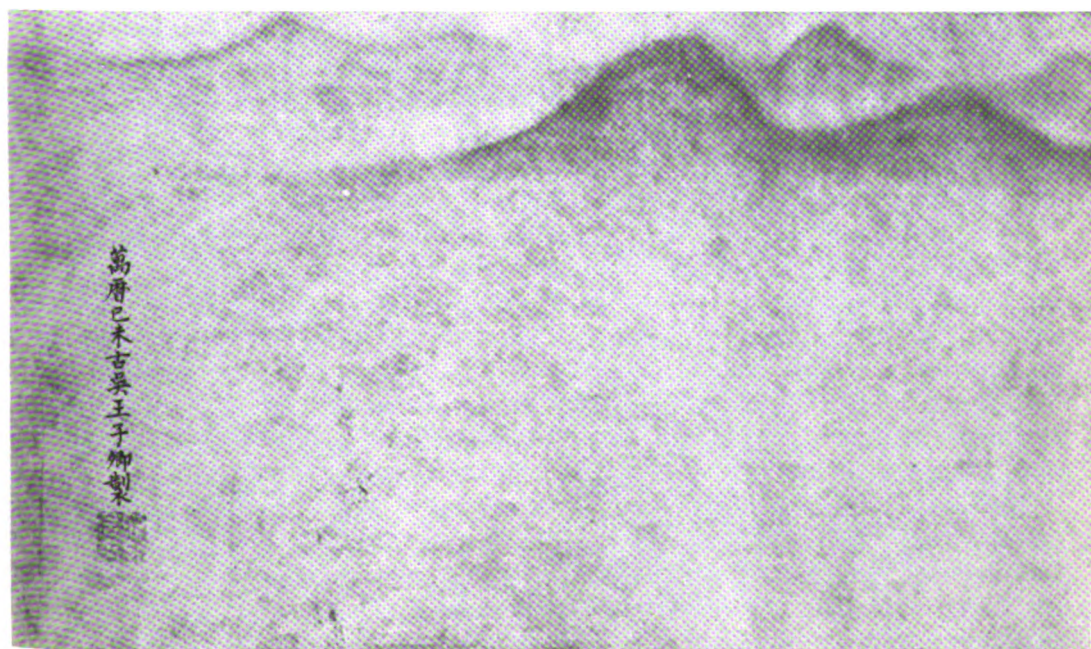
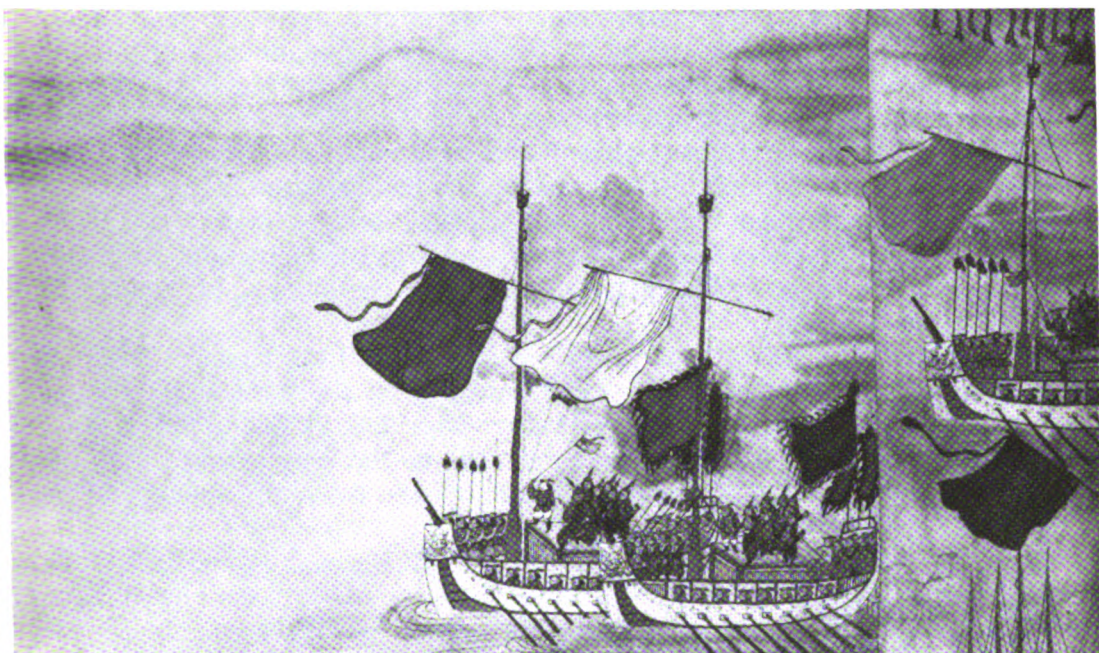
The painting on the long scroll is on thin paper in Indian ink and bright colours, some details in gold. All details are carefully rendered although the faces of the people are — as usual — conventionalized. The drawing is done in rather fine lines but the colours not so carefully applied. The artistic quality is not especially high but the life in the villages, cities and in the countryside is given with great vividness, sharp observation and sense humour.

This type of river landscape with a detail description of the life of the people on the road and in the villages and cities undoubtedly goes back to the famous









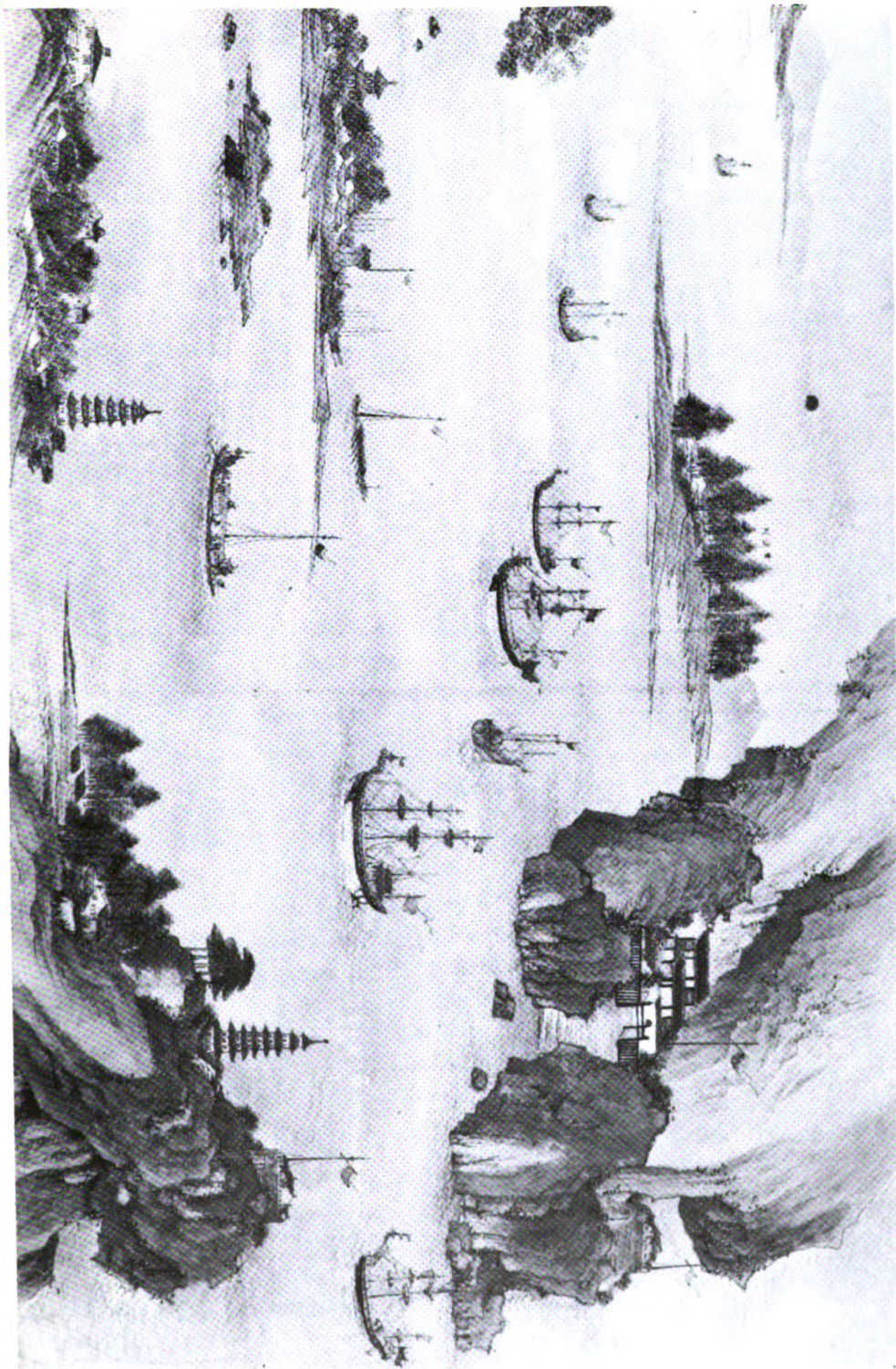
handscroll Ch'ing-ming Shang-ho t'u, e.g. Going up river at Ch'ing-ming festival by Chang Tse-tuan of Northern Sung, which is also known in many later versions.⁸⁾ The composition with all the people on the road, on the water and in the city is similar, although the quality of the Sung painting is much higher. A similar subject is again found in the early representation of Emperor Ming-huang travelling to Shu, the earliest version of the subject dated to the 9th century.⁹⁾ The royal caravan with soldiers, officials and women on horseback follow the road mendering through high mountains and passing bridges over rivers. The rendering of the travellers and their horses is very realistic in both the scrolls. It has however not been possible to trace parallels to our painting or to find this motive in the records.

2. *River landscape* representing a section of the Pearl river and the City of Canton. Painted in Indian ink, colours and gold on paper. Handscroll later mounted as an album, the covers decorated with silk patterned in red, yellow, green and blue on the front and plaine blue silk on the back. At mounting the painting has been cut and lost its possible colophons and seals. Length 330 cm height 42,2 cm.

The first two pages (Pl. 13) represent Bocca Tigris, the narrow entrance of the Pearl river on the way to Canton. On the western shore in the foreground stands a pagoda and a fortress to the right. Across the water is the other fortress and some buildings with a flag denoting Hu men, — i.e. The Tiger gate. These buildings may be the residence of the commander of the fortress. On the water there are European East India men and Chinese djonks, sampans and smaller boats, mostly sailing up-stream towards the city but also on the tributary by name Tseng Chiang. The European ships are somewhat wrongly drawn as the after decks resemble Chinese cabins and the flags have Chinese characters or patterns. In the tributary is a low strip of land with a village shadowed by high spruces and named Huang P'u Ts'un. A read sun hangs in the sky. To the left in the foreground another pagoda is seen among houses and trees and in the river are small islands, one with a wooden watch tower, houses and a two-storied pavilion.

On the next double page (Pl. 14) another pagoda is placed in the foreground, which most probably is the so called Lion tower which was situated on Wampoa, the big island where the foreign ships had to anchor. In the river is another circular fort with a flag giving the characters Ti Lou, i.e. watch tower. In the background is a high cliff with a pavilion bearing the romantic name Po Lo Yü'Jih, i.e. Po Lo, the place bathing in the sun. Behind is the temple Ta Wang. Mountains in blue and green rise further to the left and a waterfalls joints the main river. A bridge on which two figures meet leads over the stream.

Then comes the outskirts of Canton with an open field where men are training on horseback. A Pai-lou and a white screen with a red circle stand in the front, a fortress with a flag marked Shuai (Commander in chief) and three halls are seen in the back, obviously the residence of the commander. To the right are other buildings within a white wall, most probably the barracks for the soldiers. On a





map of 1867 this place is called the East Parade Ground.¹⁰⁾ Further to the left comes the eastern city wall with the moat of a running stream. A Branch of this channel goes through the city along the inner wall, which divides the inner and outer city: the Tartar and Chinese cities. (Pl. 18) Two bridges lead over the eastern moat. In front of the outer city wall houses are grouped along the shore and in the foreground is a Buddhist temple named Hai Ch'uang situated on Honam, the big island south of Canton. The next two sides (Pl. 15) show the rest of the city spread out along the river. Only the walls with all their gates named in gold and the high tower in the background are faithfully depicted. Some of the more important temples, municipal buildings, Pai-lous, the pagoda Ching Huei Ssü and the mosque with minaret are represented and named.

The gates are as follows:

In the south and new wall from east to west: Gate of Eternal Joy, Gate of Eternal Purity, Gate of the Five Genii, The Tranquil River Gate, The Oil Gate and The Bamboo Gate.

In the inner or old wall are: The Gate to watch the Sea, The Gate of Literature, The South Gate and the Gate of Virtue.

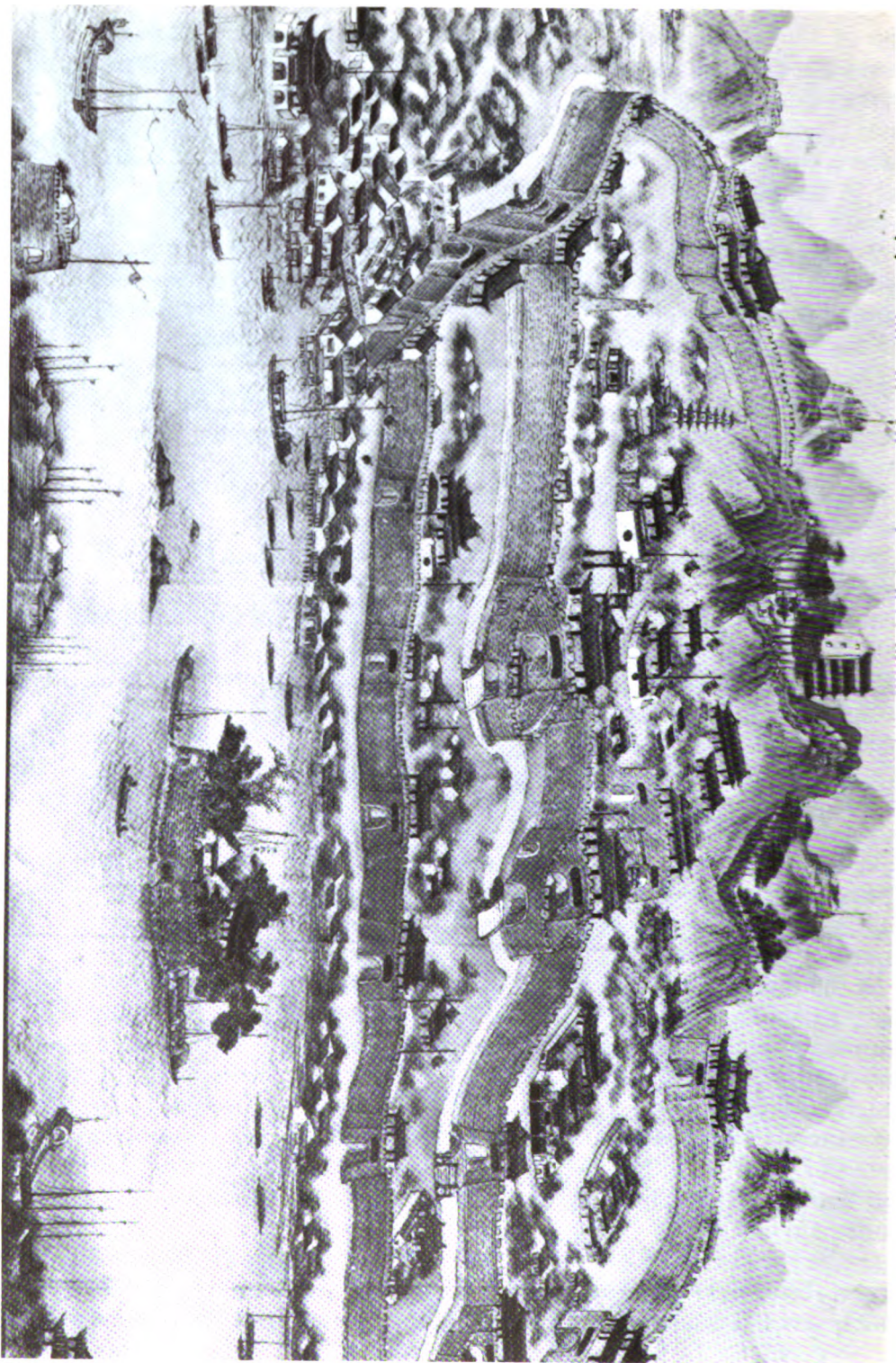
In the eastern wall are: The Eastern Water Gate, The East Gate and The North Eastern Gate.

In the west wall are: The Peace Gate, The West Water Gate and The Western Gate.

The temples and official buildings depicted on our painting are as follows: In the new, or Chinese City, we find from east to west: The Emperor's Temple beside the Gate of Literature. In this temple homage was paid to the reigning monarch at the New Year and on his birthday. One of the pavilions was built in imitation of those in the Imperial Palace at Peking, and contained the profusely ornamented imperial tablet before which homage was offered. Further to the west are Hu Pu (Board of Revenue and Population) with two flags in front. Three other groups of buildings are unnamed and further to the west is Liang Kuang, an official building with two flags, one with the characters which mean The Two Kuang, i.e. the name for the provinces Kuangtung and Kuanghsi.

In the old or Tartar city the following monuments can be identified from the east: Kung Yüan (Examination Hall), the area where the annual and triennial examinations took place at which aspirants for official honours were tested. It was occupied by row upon row of buildings divided into diminutive pens within which the students were left with only brushes, ink and paper during the course of the examination. The Fu Hsüeh Kung (Confucian College) is seen north of the Gate of Literature with its big halls. Behind are Hsüeh Kung (Confucian temple) and Pan Yü Hsien (District office of Kanton) and the Office of Gunpowdre in front of these.

Inside the Central Gate runs "Shuang Men Tu" with Pai-lous built over the street. Here is a brick building called "Kung Pak Low" seen behind a Pai-lou, in which was the celebrated T'ung-wu Ti-lou, i.e. Copper-jar Water-dropper, the



Clepsydra, an apparatus for measuring the lapse of time. Further back are two halls representing Pu Cheng Ssü (Provincial Treasurer). Beside the "Kung Pak Low" and close to the wall is Nan Hai Hsien (Office of the Southern Sea). Towards the hills is the Yamen (residence) of the Governor (Fu Yuan), marked by two flags at the entrance.

North of the impressive South Gate a Pai-Lou is seen which represents one of the main streets in the Tartar city, the South street. Behind the Pai-lou is the residence of the Commander in Chief, Chiang Chün, also marked with two flags and a white wall with a red circle.

One of the most conspicuous building in the whole city is still today the nine-storied Pagoda, Ching Huei Ssü, with a temple at the side. It can be seen from far away and has always been a landmark. It is found on Nieuhof's plan and front view of Canton. (Pl. 2) The first tower is said to have been constructed as early as A.D. 537 as a receptacle and shrine for a relic of Buddha. In 1859 it was restored from a ruined condition and is still in a good state of preservation.

To the left is Wu Hsien Kuan, Temple of Five Genii, with a huge bell on the second story of the building. This was a Taoist temple famous for its five supernatural stone rams which were destroyed in 1841.

The last remarkable depicted building in the Tartar City is another well known monument, the Mohammedan Mosque with the Minaret called "Kwang T'ap" or Bare pagoda. This mosque was founded in A.D. 850 by Arabian travellers who visited Canton, especially during the T'ang period. The mosque in 1867 consisted "of a plain hall the roof and pillars of which are in the ordinary Chinese style, but in which the severe simplicity of the interior contrasts forcibly with the decorations of a Buddhist temple. Its Arabian origin is strikingly denoted by the peculiar form of the arches forming two sides of the building, above which extracts from the Koran form the only ornaments on the bare white-washed wall. The floor is plainly matted, and at the extreme end a small table is placed bearing a tablet on which is inscribed the ordinary invocation of the Emperor-Lord of Ten Thousand Times Ten Thousand Years ... The Moolah or priest of the Mohammedan community resides within the mosque enclosure, and instructs a small class of youths in the Arabic characters in which the Koran is written. The pagoda, or rather minaret adjoining the mosque is a two storied circular tower of some 120 feet in height, gradually diminishing in diameter upwards, the upper storey being of considerably smaller diameter than the lower. One or two large trees have grown up on the platform at the top of the first storey which was until lately accessible by a winding staircase in the interior, but, owing to the danger incurred through the ruined condition of the staircase, the entrance (some ten feet above the ground) was blocked up a few years ago".¹⁾ On the painting some bushes or trees are seen close to the top.

In the northern section of the Tartar city, the Kuan-yin Shan, the Kuanyin's mountain, rises above the wall and is crowned by the Wu Tseng Lo, the Five-storied Pagoda, a temple erected in A.D. 1368 as a "palladium against the

evil influences which were supposed to flow from that quarter'', (the north). This temple still stands and is now used as the city museum.

Outside the northern wall are three forts.

Even if the most important buildings are represented in our painting, the streets and ordinary houses cannot be seen. They are concealed behind sketchily drawn trees and clouds, only a few roofs and gables standing out. Still the painting gives much more information about Canton at the time when foreigners were not permitted to come inside the walls. On Kirchers plan pl. 2, the regularity of the streets is seen and also on the more convincing map of 1869. (Pl. 18)

The surroundings were better known to European visitors and many descriptions are given by westerners who had visited Canton one or more times. Before quoting a Swedish visitor who had been in Canton on twelve occasions between 1742 and 77, we will allow the painting to recount what is depicted on the scroll.

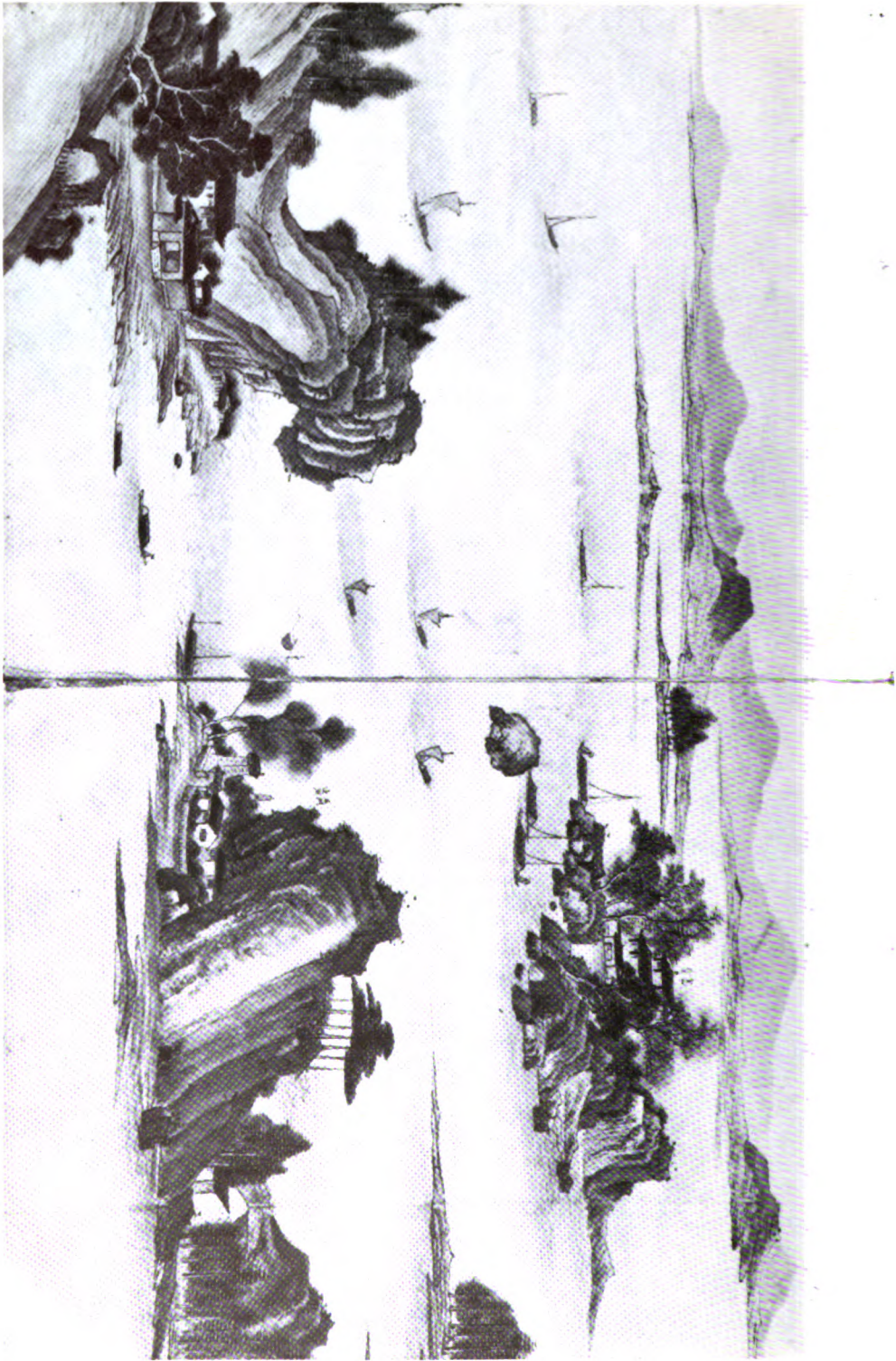
In the front of the city there are small houses: some larger are concentrated towards the western moat and the shore, and some, further to the west are built on pillars in the water. This was the centre for the foreign store-houses, the Hongs or Factories, where the western trading companies collected the goods for transport to Wampoa and further to Europe and from 1784 also to the U.S.A. To the west is a big three-storied building in bright colours obviously an official one. Close by is a bath-house judging by the flag. In this area some people are moving around.

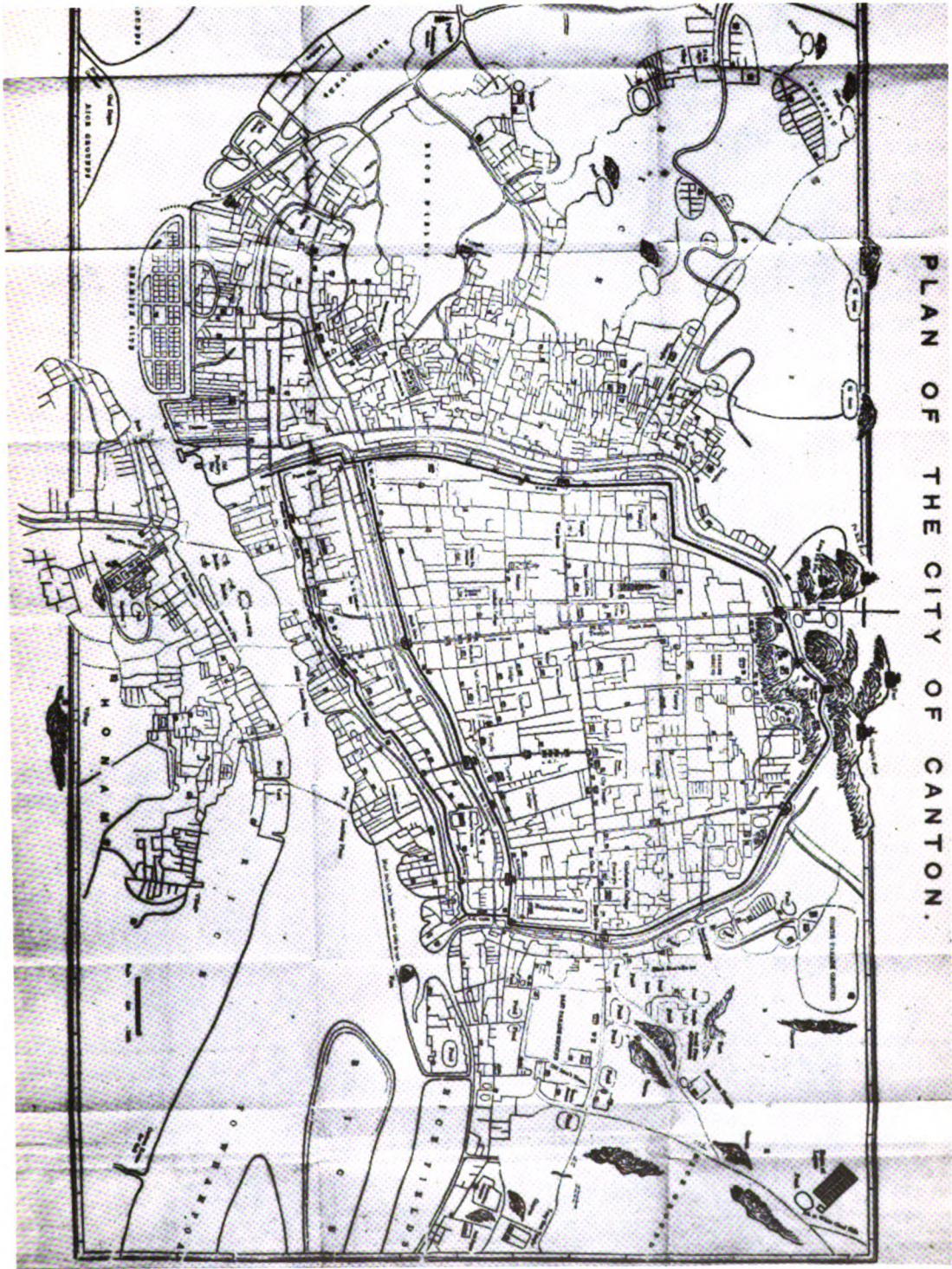
In the river there is an oblong fortress on a small island with one big building and smaller houses. This is fortress Cho Chiang Ch'iu Yüeh (Autumn Moon over the Pearl River). In the foreground are parts of Honam, the big island south of Canton, with the stern of a European ship and many masts of anchored boats. To the left is another circular fortress.

On the next double page (Pl. 16), the landscape is dominated by a range of high mountains rising on the further shore and with a waterfall in the middle. The water runs under a bridge where two men meet. To the right of the waterfall up in the mountains there is a terrace called Pai Yün Wan Wang (to look at the white clouds in the evening). Three figures enjoy the view. To the left of the waterfall, P'u Chien, there is a retreat for a Buddhist called Ching T'ai Seng Kuei. Two people are walking up towards it. Lower down at the water are two fortresses, and behind a river, most probably the Sulphur river, a marshland and groups of buildings known as Ch'ang Shou, an Temple of (Longevity), Kung Kuan (Office of Revenue) and Hsi Lai. In the foreground is a temple Ta T'ung Yen Yü, and a watchtower.

The last double page (Pl. 17) depicts the Pearl river further to the west. The river is wide and scattered with islands. A high cliff on one island in the foreground leans over some buildings and named Shih Men Chao (Stone gate). Behind is another rocky island with a temple Chin Shan Yeh P'o (The Anchorage of the Golden mountain). At the end of the painting is a fantastic









cliff overhanging small huts and a temple at its foot surrounded by trees. It is called Hsi Hua Ssü (The Western Flowery temple). The river goes on into open water but the end of the painting has been cut off. There are Chinese sailing boats and sampans on the water. Between the two mountains in the background the sun sets.

As the end of the painting is missing, no signature, date or seals are left to tell when and by whom it was done. The artistic quality is, however, much better than of the one previously described. The brushwork is strong and energetic, the colours well applied with fine nuances. It is painted in typical *kung pi hua* and gold is also used for many details. When trying to date this painting some help is given by the fact that all the storehouses or Factories of the Western traders have a pure Chinese appearance. In the 17th and early 18th century the "Hong's" were still built in Chinese style. A great fire destroyed this area in 1743 and from then on the houses were rebuilt in the European fashion and in more solid material. The painting must then have been made before this date. A further proof for this dating is another representation of Canton also in the Chinese Pavilion at Drottningholm. It is found on a lacquer screen still partly preserved which is mentioned in a description of 1753. Here all the Factories are built in classical European style (Pl. 19). The City is otherwise more conventionalized than on the album and more naive, but the pagodas, fortresses and other buildings along the river can be identified.

Other good information about the correct rendering of the city and mainly the surroundings is given in the description written by the Swedish captain Carl Gustaf Ekeberg in his book *Ostindisk Resa åren 1770 och 1771, Beskrefen uti Bref till Kongl. Svenska Vet. Academiens Secretarare, Stockholm 1773*. Ekeberg had been in Canton twelve times on service in the Swedish East India Company between 1742 and 77. To clarify the details of the album it can be of interest to read Ekebergs description in the German edition of his book.¹²⁾

"Das Fahrwasser, welches von Makao nach Kantons Rivier oder an die Mündung des flusses, an welchem Kanton liegt, führet, wird durch die kleine Insel Linting so wohl eng als flach, so dass an einigen Stellen nur 5 Klafter Wasser ist; es schwingt sich zwischen N.N.W. zur eigentlichen Mündung des Flusses hin, welche von den Portugiesen Bucca Tigris genannt wird: der Fluss selbst aber heisst Ta oder Taso.

Diese Mündung hält in der Breite eine halbe Meile, und ist bey der grossen Insel, welche ihre westliche Seite ausmacht, mit Klippen und scheeren angefüllt, welche den halben Sund einnehmen, bis an ein grosses Eyland, auf welchem ein abgerundetes Vestungswerk steht, woselbst einige Soldaten die Wache haben, und den Einlauf bewachen (Pl. 13). Das feste Land östlich ist sehr hoch, und schliesst steil an den Strand an, woselbst auch eine abgerundete Batterie mit Brustwehr und Schiesscharten gegen einander aufgeführt ist. Das Wasser dazwischen ist sehr tief, und Ebbe und Fluth laufen in dem Gedränge des Weges, welcher mit einer Kanonenkugel überschossen werden kann, heftig genug, um ein und ausgehenden Schiffern Vorsicht zu empfehlen. Gleich zu Anfang der Mündung liegt mehr an der Westseite ein grosses Eyland, welches der Tyger, von den Chinesen aber Tai-fou genannt wird; davon hat die Mündung ihren Namen. Das Rivier macht von da an, ausser dem grossen, noch verschiedene besondre Fahrwasser für kleinere Schiffe, zwischen welchen sumpfige Reisfelder liegen, die vom hohen Wasser überströmt werden. Verschiedene

Flache Bänke liegen auch dazwischen, nebst einigen Fahrten, die bey sehr hohem Wasser, brauchbar sind. Ueber die Reisfelder her sieht man in der Ferne artige Hölzungen, Wohlgebaute Dörfer, grüne Pflanzungen auf Anhöhen, Thürme und Pagoden, welche auf allen Seiten schöne Prospekte darbieten. Auf der Nord-West-Seite liegt ein weitläufiges Eyland mit einem hohen Berge, aus welchem alle Steine zum Bauen für Kanton gebrochen werden. Wenn man durch den Sund gekommen, so sieht man den Steinbruch in der Queer, und zugleich der 9 Stockwerk hohen Löwenturm, welcher gleichsam den Schluss des Riviers zu machen scheint. (Pl. 13). Mehr dergleichen Thürme sind in vorigen Kriegszeiten und Unruhen gebauet worden; sie sind achteckigt, und halten unten in der grössten Weite etwa 20 Ellen in Durchmesser; die Mauern aber sind 6 Ellen dick, und durch sie sind die Treppengänge bis in die Spitze hinauf geleitet; übrigens sind keine Abtheilungen, sondern der Thurm ist von Unten bis oben offen. Jeder der Absätze, die an Weite immer abnehmen, ist durch ein kleines Ziegeldach getrennt, auch nehmen die Absätze mehr und mehr an Höhe wie an Weite ab, welches auf jeden etwan eine halbe Elle betragen kann, so dass die ganze Thurmhöhe bis ans oberste Dach, worauf eine grosse eiserne Spitze steht, etwan 100 Ellen betragen kann. Auf zwei Seiten gehen gegen einander über Oefnungen ganz von unten bis in die Spitze. Jetzt fangen diese Zierraten an zu verfallen, und aus den Oefnungen wachsen Busche und Moose heraus. Man sagt, sie dienten in voriger Zeit zu Signalen, um der Regierung zu Peking in der Geschwindigkeit Aufruhr oder dergleichen anzuzeigen; weswegen auch in ihrer Nachbarschaft kleine Schanzen und Zeughäuser angelegt waren, wo Mannschaft mit ein paar Officieren die Wache hatten. In allen den engen Fahrwassern des Riviers, wo unaufhörlich eine unzählige Menge Sampanen oder kleine Fahrzeuge hin und her fahren, ist an jedem *Pu* ein Wachhaus aufgerichtet, welches in einer gemauerten weissen pyramide besteht; daselbst haben einige Soldaten die Wache, um einermassen das wilde Volk im Zaume zu halten. *Pu* ist ein Landmass, und hält 10 Li; ein Li ist so viel als 300 Eubiti, und da die Chinesen 20 Pu auf einen Grad rechnen, so beträgt also einer davon fast 3 Seemeilen.

Das Rivier biegt sich darauf gegen Westen, und lässt auf der Ostseite grosse Reisfelder blos; auf der Westseite sieht man viele kleine und grosse Eylande, deren Strände mit dergleichen Feldern umgeben sind. Nur die höchsten rothartigen Hügel sind unbenutzt, und tragen einiges durrees Nadelholz; die tauglicheren Anhöhen sind aber in Absätze verwandelt und eben gemacht, wo Zuckerrohr und andere nützliche Pflanzen gezogen werden; auch sind sie mit Laubholz besetzt, deren Wurzeln der Erde sowohl zur Haltung und Befestigung, als ihr Laub und ihre Zweige den übrigen Gewächsen zum Schutz wider die Hitze dienen. In den Tälern sind grosse Dörfer und Lusthölzer, wie auch andre Pflanzungen angelegt. Aerme des grossen Flusses befördern seitwärts die Zufuhr bis in die Häuser, und Ebbe und Fluth erleichtern viel das Betriebe dabey.

Nicht weit von der Schiffs-Anfahrt sieht man auf der Ostseite bey einem grossen Holz eine roth angestrichene Pagode oder Götzenhaus, Namens *Polimeh*; (Pl. 14) diese Farbe ist in China etwas seltenes, und soll, wie man sagt, nur einigen Familien zugestanden seyn. Dieser Ort ist vordem in so grossem Ansehen gewesen, dass ich den Xontoch und andere vornehme Mandarin von Kaisers wegen habe gegen Herbst dahin wallfahrten gesehen; aber in den letzten Zeiten hat sich auch diese Andacht verloren. — — —

Von hier krummt sich das Rivier (die Rhede) westlich an einer kleinen Landspitze hin, welche bergige, mit Bäumen und Büschen bewachsen, mit einer alten verfallenen Mauer umgeben, und gegen das Fahrwasser ausstehend ist. Eine einzelne nach innen in die Erde gesunkene eiserne Kanone zeigt an, dass ehemals hier eine Art Vestung gewesen, ich weiss aber nicht, warum man es das holländische Castell nennt. Die Chineser geben vor, dass es aus einer Perl in einen so steinigen Hügel verwandelt worden, und dass die obenauf liegende Bergspitze die Mutter oder die Muschel gewesen. Von hier sieht man den Hafen oder die Rhede Vampoe (Wampoa) offen, mit den daselbst ankernden Schiffen; selbiges ist der vornehmste Hafen der ganzen Gegend; ihn deckt das Eyland Vampoe in Norden, mit Wald und Dorf, und im Süden Siamjen oder Siamsens Inseln, welche sonst die französische und dänische genannt werden; im Osten aber wird der Hafen von den etwas entfernten Ländereyen gedeckt. Der Sund oder die Breite des Hafens selbst ist an einigen Stellen nicht über 400 Ellen breit, und die Tiefe wo man ankert ist fast überall 7 Klafter. Kaum können

zwey grosse Schiffe in der Breite Platz finden, sondern müssen wechseln. Doch haben 30 Schiffe in einer kleinen Meile Platz.

Die Inseln hier in der Nähe haben einerley Beschaffenheit mit den vorher beschriebenen im Rivier, und haben zugleich unter ihren Hügeln viele Leichenplätze für Chinesen und Europäer; die letztern bezahlen dem Eigner der Platzes 2 Piaster, die erstern aber werden nach Stand und Würden ungleich taxiert, und haben auch zum Theil von gehauenen Stein gemauerte Grabmäler, welche vernachlässigt werden, sobald die Beerdigung geschehen. Der chinesische Aberglaube hebt sich auch hier empor, so dass sich keiner seiner Grabstätte selbst wählt, dass muss einer Art Sternseher bestellen, die Fung-Soji heissen. — — —

Die Insel Vampoe theilt das Rivier, und indem sie westlich einen Einlauf in den Hafen verstattet, so lässt sie östlich ein Fahrwasser für grosse chinesische Lustfahrzeuge gerade nach Kanton zu fahren, welches etwa 7 bis 8 Meilen entfernt ist.

Obleich Vampoes Strand, wie die andern, aus lockern und sumpfigten Reis-Feldern besteht, so haben doch nach und nach die Europäer mit Ballast, Grand und Steinen den Strand der eigentlichen Schiffs-Rhede so ausgefüllt und erhöht, dass sie darauf während ihres Aufenthalts bequeme Wohnungen von losem Pfahlwerk mit Bambus und Matten bedeckt und bekleidet, bauen können, worin die meisten Schiffs-Sachen können aufbewahrt und ausgebessert werden. (Pl. 21) Die Engländer haben diese Gebäude Strand-Säle genannt (Banks-Halls) welchen Namen sie noch haben. Sie sind 61–70 Ellen lang, und 18–20 Ellen breit, stehen mit einem Ende am Strand, und da sind die Schmieden und Küchen. Da ferner jedes Schif seinen eignen Strandsaal hat, so hat man Deiche zwischen jedes gemacht, und eine hohe Stange mit einer Flagge ist eines jeden besonderes Merkzeichen. Ein Steuermann, ein Unterofficier, und acht Mann verschiedene Handwerker halten hier beständig Wache, und können zugleich Hülfe vom Schiffe zu ihren Arbeiten haben. Die Franzosen haben sich von den andern Nationen getrennt, und setzten ihre Strand-Magazine auf die vorgedachte französische Insel; sie müssen aber auch für besondere Bewachung an die Mandarinen viel bezahlen. — — —

Im Fahrwasser von Kanton ist nichts besonders merkwürdiges als die bereits beschriebene zwey Thürme; der eine davon steht auf der Insel Vampoe neben dem daselbst befindlichen grossen Dorf; der andere auf dem gegenüber liegenden Lande, an dessen Strande das Fahrwasser für grosse chinesische Fahrzeuge nach Kanton hinauf streicht; daselbst ist eine eigene Stelle, wo die Salzschiffe ausladen und liegen. Sie haben ihr Salz von den östlich am Ausfluss gelegenen Seeküsten, und hier laden sie es in grosse Sampane welche es weiter führen. Da dieser Handel ein Regale ist, so hat niemand ohne Verpachtung Erlaubniss ihn zu treiben. — — —

Wo der östliche Theil der Vorstadt anfängt, sieht man einige Küchengärten, und je näher man an die Stadt kommt, je mehr Sampanen bedecken das Wasser, so dass man zuletzt kaum durchkommen kann; dabey hindert glücklicherweise das einzige lange Ruder, womit sie ihre Böte von hinten regieren, nicht so sehr, als wenn sie zwey oder mehrere längere zur Seite brauchten. Sie können sich aber wegen der hier seichten Wassers auch gut mit dem Staken forthelfen. Hier in der Nähe am östlichen Strand findet man einen Graben der einen kleinen Kanal eröffnet, welcher von einen grossen bemooseten Baum beschattet ist, darunter sieht man verschiedene Sampanen liegen, und auch einige kleine Hütten. Diese Ort ist eine Zuflucht für die Elenden, die durch Ausschweifung ihre Gesundheit, oder Nasen, Gaumen, und andere Theile verloren haben; auch findet man daselbst Aussätzige und Verrückte. Die Chinesen nennen diese unglückliche Gesellschaft Fatt-fong, und der Baum, Fatt-fon-tan, welches Franzosen-Baum heisst.

Von dort an ist der Strand den ganzen Weg hinauf von grossen und kleinen Sampanen gepropft voll; sie liegen auch zum Theil in grosser Anzahl still, und lassen gassenartigen Raum zwischen einander, in welchem kleinere Fahrzeuge kreuzen, welche allerhand zu Kauf haben, und durch Ausrufen oder Schlagen auf einer kleinen Trommel, Holz, Wasser, Esswaren, oder dergleichen feil bieten. Auch findet man auf der andern Seite, so weit der Strand der Vorstädte geht, eben so viel Sampanen quer über das Rivier: so dass gar nicht unglaublich ist, dass hier mehr Leute auf dem Wasser leben, als in der Stadt, besonders wenn man überlegt, dass jede Sampane von einer Familie bewohnt wird, und dass die grossen wohl verschiedenen Haushaltungen zur Wohnung dienen.

Hier in der Nähe fängt nun die eigentliche Stadt Kanton an, welche mit ihren hohen alten Mauern von gehauenen Steinen umgeben ist, und ihre Bastionen oder viereckige Aussenwerke mit Schiesslöchern weiset. (Pl. 14–15) Einige alte eiserne Kanonen, die nicht grösser als von drey- oder vierpfündigem Kalibre sind, sieht man an der Brustwehr. Nur selten kommt da ein Europäer hinein, es sey denn, dass er vom Stadthalter wichtiger Geschäfte wegen gerufen werde. Die Neugier trieb mich einst so weit, mich ins Thor zu wagen; aber der Soldat kam mir gleich entgegen, und wies mich zurück. Was ich von Häusern sehen konnte, schien nicht von den Häusern in den Vorstadt verschieden zu seyn. Die Stadt ist fast rundum nicht grösser, als dass ich im Stande gewesen verschieentlich den Umkreis in drey Stunden Zeit durchzuspazieren. Sie hat verschiedene Thore, doch die meisten an der Wasserseite. Ein Thurm wie der oben beschriebene, und ein etwas stumpferer, sind alle Zierrathen, die man sehen kann.

Auf zwey im Rivier liegenden Eylanden findet man auch ein paar Schanzen, die gleichfalls mit hohen Steinmauern eingefasst sind; diese sowohl als die Stadtmauer sind nur gut bey friedsamem Zeiten; im Kriege würden sie nicht viel abhalten. Die Vorstadt, welche von östlicher Seite nach Süden läuft, wird westlich weiltäufiger, und da haben die Europäer ihre Faktoreyen, zwischen welchen und dem Flusstrande eine gepflasterte Gasse von 18 Ellen Breite hinläuft.

Die Hausstellen erstrecken sich von der Wasserseite aufwärts und waren ehemals nach chinesischer Art bebauet; neulich haben aber die Eigner den Europäern zugestanden, ihre Wohnungen nach ihrem Geschmack einzurichten, sie mit Glasfenstern zu zieren statt der dunkeln Perlemutterfenster. Scheidewände mit Steinen statt der Bretterwände darin zu bauen, und Gipsböden statt derer von Matten mit Papier überklebt zu machen. Nach dieser Zeit haben die verschiedenen Nationen gewetteifert ihre Gebäude durch Eintheilung und Zierde gefallen zu machen. Gegen das Wasser zu hat jede Faktorey einen bedeckten Balkon, um in warmen Jahreszeiten sich an der kühlen frischen Seeluft zu erfrischen. In jeder Faktorey ist ein gewölbtes Zimmer, wo die Gelder verwahrt werden, auch Keller und hinlängliche Magazine für einkommende Waaren und für Güter, so viel für einige Tage aufbewahrt werden müssen, um zu Schiffe zu gehen; wie auch schöne Säle und Wohnzimmer. Diese Gebäude sind also jetzt sicherer vor Feuersbrünsten als die ehemaligen, welche verschiedene mal dadurch vernichtet wurden, besonders in Jahr 1743, da in einer Nacht so wohl die schwedischen als dänischen Faktoreyen mit einigen Hundert andern Häusern zu Asche wurden. Jetzt hat überdem eine jede Faktorey eine aufs beste eingerichtete Feuerspritze. Ehemals miethete man solche Faktoreyen auf so lange Zeit als die Schiffe da lagen; in den letztern Zeiten aber hat die Compagnie vortheilhafter gefunden, einen Chef oder Aufseher mit einigen Superkargos in einem beständigen Komtoir hier zu halten, welche deshalb beständig dasselbe Haus bewohnen; doch sind sie genöthigt, wie schon gesagt worden, sich einige Zeit nach Makao zu entfernen, bis andre Schiffe wieder ankommen.

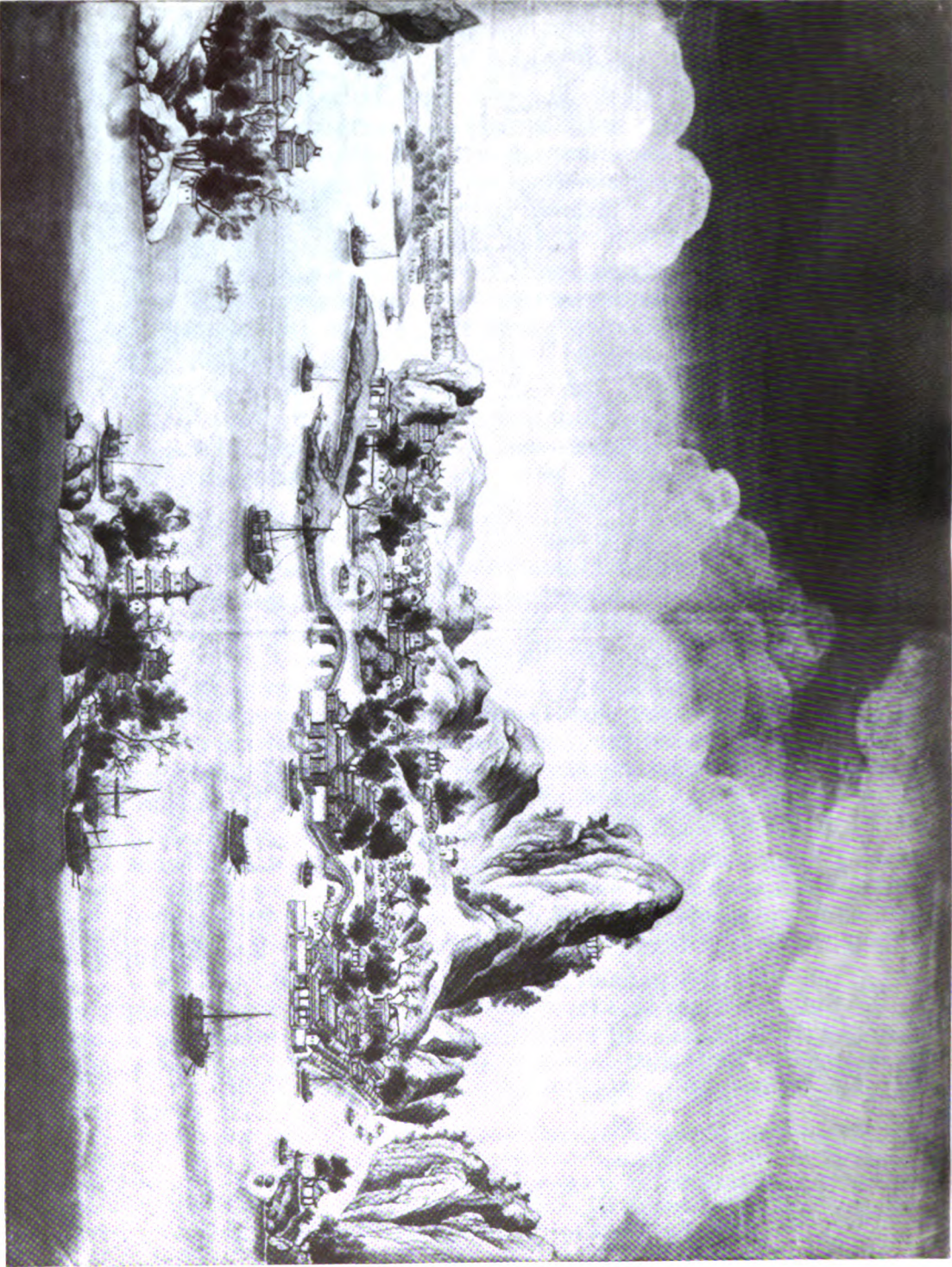
In den Vorstädten findet man eine Menge Kaufmansbuden, und die meisten Häuser haben an der Gasse entweder Boden, oder Handwerkstellen. Viele Gassen haben hauptsächlich einerley Gattung von Handwerkern zu Bewohnern, wornach sie meist alsdann genannt werden; so heisst z. E. die Porzellängasse so, von einer Reihe Porzellänbuden, obgleich neben an oder gegenüber auch Apotheken und Materialloden abwechseln. — — —

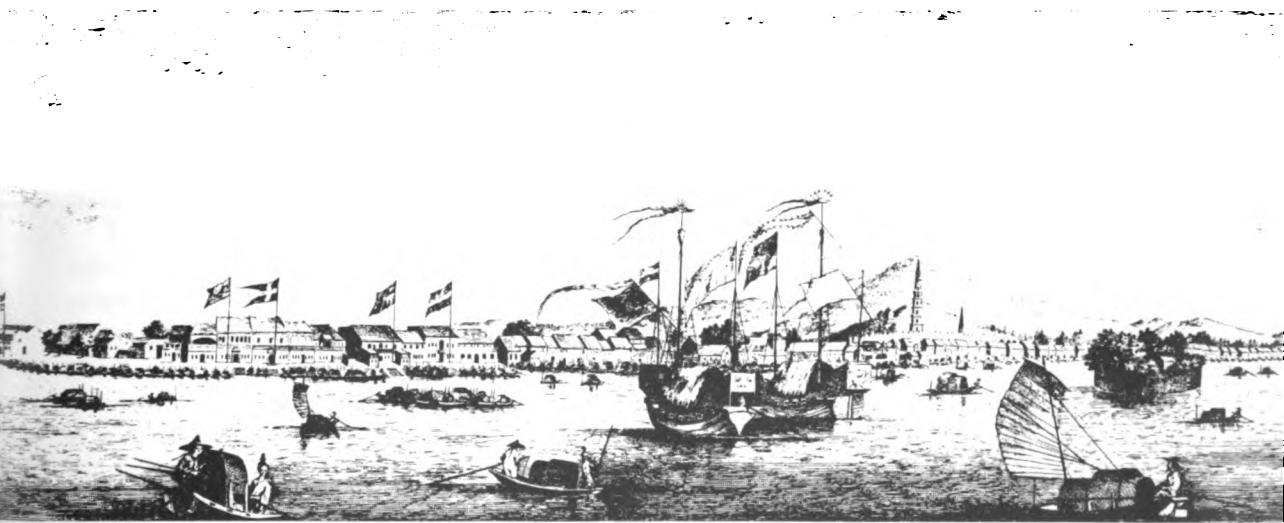
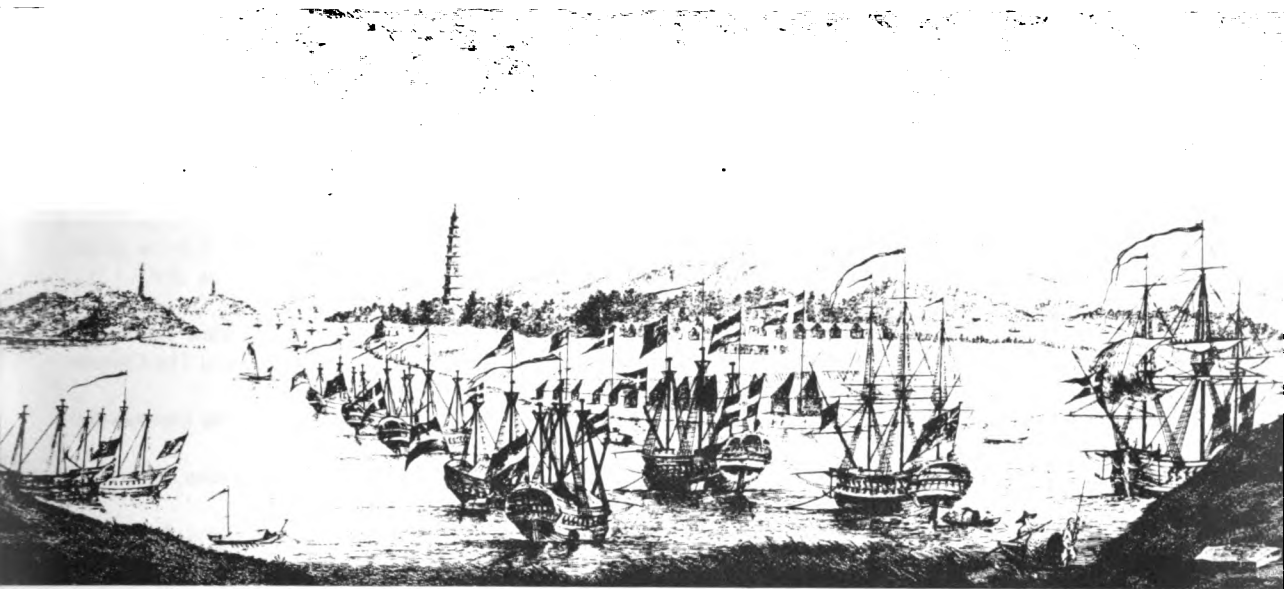
Die Lustgärten auf Honang(m) so wohl als in den Vorstädten sind zuvor bey anderer Gelegenheit beschrieben. Sie sind reinlich, von artigem Geschmack und in Absicht auf Gebäude, Deiche, Parterre, Alleen und Blumenbette sehr glänzend: doch ist bey allem diesem die Symmetrie gänzlich vernachlässigt. Gleichwohl sind keine Kosten dabey gespart, und sie sind meistens angelegt als eine Art Serail für Frauen oder Meitressen, bey welchen man sich ergösset, wenn die Geschäfte geendigt sind. — — —

Unter andern Gebäuden auf Honam sieht man auch eine runde Schanze auf der nordwestlichen Landspitze; (Pl. 15) sie liegt gerade gegen den Faktoreyen der Europäer über, ist aber von keinem Belang. Etwas südlich auf dem Strande, welcher zum Fahrwasser nach Makao führt, liegt auf einer Anhöhe ein offenes Gebäude. Das Rivier ist hier breiter; der Xontok und einige Mandarinen pflegen von dort aus die Galeerenübungen im Seegeln und Rudern anzusehen."

This long and detailed description of the journey from Bocca Tigris along the Pearl River up to Canton gives a good idea of the landscape and all the peculiarities which fascinated westerners in those days. From the latter half of the 18th century many illustrations were made for the western countries both in Indian ink, water-colours and oil on canvas. Usually these paintings are done in a style more suited to the European taste. Thanks to the Jesuit missionaries working in China during late Ming and early Ch'ing, the European manner of using linear perspective, shadows and reflections was introduced, and some Chinese adopted part of it. Michael Sullivan has given a good survey of the interchange between European and Chinese artists in his book, "The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art"¹³), and has shown how some of the late Ming artists used shadows and perspective. On the other hand, some Europeans learned to paint in a more Chinese manner, men like Matteo Ripa, Castiglione, Père Attiret, Guiseppe Panti and others. This Chino-european style was especially popular in Macao and Canton where informative paintings were produced for the western market. As an example an ink-drawing with a motif from one of the islands south of Canton is reproduced on Pl. 20. It is done on thin Chinese paper and painted in Indian ink heightened with white. Height 40,2 cms., width 55,8 cms. Owned by MFEA. On the back, a small signature "A.Ca" is written, and beside it in sepia Albert Camesina. It is difficult to know the exact spot from where the drawing was done, but probably it was from the island north of Wampoa, as the city wall of Canton is seen in the background and above the wall the pagoda and five-storied temple are visible. It is a mountainous island with a high cliff at one end, close to a narrow channel. A small pavilion is seen on a shelf near the top. On the lower part of the island there are many houses, temples, open pavilions, towers and bridges joining strips of land at the shore. Among the small houses are also towers reminiscent of Christian churches. Big trees grow among the halls and pavilions. There is a pagoda with a temple on a hill in the background. On the river there are djonks, house-boats and sampans, most of them anchored and all reflected in the water. To the right are high cliffs on the other side of the channel, in the foreground a small island with a four-storied pagoda, a temple and small houses framed by big trees. To the left is another strip of land with high cliffs and a temple among leafy trees. The drawing is done by an amateur but gives a good idea of the Canton area from the second half of the 18th century.

For comparison we also reproduce two illustrations from Ekeberg's book depicting the factories southwest of Canton where the Swedish flag flies beside the British. (Pl. 21) This etching was done around 1770 and gives a fairly good idea about the River and the outskirts of Canton as he saw it.¹⁴)





NOTES

- 1) Settervall, Åke, Fogelmark, Stig, etc. *The Chinese Pavilion at Drottningholm*. Malmö 1974.
- 2) Sullivan, Michael; *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art*. London 1973. p. 90 ff.
- 3) Kjellberg, Sven T.; *Svenska Ostindiska Compagnierna 1731–1813*. Malmö 1974. English Summary.
- 4) Sullivan, Michael, op.cit. p. 93 ff.
- 5) Weigert, R.-A. et Hernmarck, Carl: *L'Art en France et en Suède 1693–1718. Extraits d'une correspondance entre l'architecte Nicodème Tessin et Daniel Cronström*. Stockholm 1964. p. 339.
- 6) Josephson, Ragnar; *Tessin, del I*. Stockholm 1931.
- 7) Kiöping, Nils Mattson & Willman, Olof Erikson; *En kort beskrifning uppå Trenne Resor och Peregrinationer, samt Konungarijket Japan etc*. Wisindsborg 1667. Doctor dissertations about The Chinese Wall and Confucius were defended at the University of Uppsala in 1694 and 1710.
- 8) Whitfield, Roderick; *Chang Tse-tuan's "Ch'ing-ming Shang-ho T'u"*. Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting. Taipei 1972.
- 9) Sirén, Osvald; *Chinese Painting. Leading Masters and Principles*. Vol. III, pl. 83, London, New York 1956.
- 10) Mayers, Wm. Fred., Dennys, N.B. and King, Chas; *The Trety Ports of China and Japan*, London & Hongkong 1867, pp 125f. Most of the identifications of the temples etc are based upon this work.
- 11) Op. cit. p. 253.
- 12) Carl Gustav Ekeberg's *Königlich Schwedischen Schiffskapitäns Ostindische Reise in den Jahren 1770 und 1771. In drei Briefen an den Secretair der königl. Schwedischen Academie der Wissenschaften beschrieben. Aus dem Schwedischen übersetzt*: Dresden und Leipzig 1785. p. 68 und folg.
- 13) Sullivan, Michael. op. cit.
- 14) The illustrations are only found in the Swedish edition of Ekeberg's book.

REPORT FROM A JOURNEY TO KAI (KYOCHUKIKO) THE FIRST TWO DAYS

by

OLOF G. LIDIN

INTRODUCTION

Ogyu Sorai (1666–1728) is the Tokugawa scholar who is today more and more recognized for his originality as a philosopher. He was born in Edo, today's Tokyo, in a physician's family. He turned early to Confucian studies, and it was in this field that he would later gain a high reputation for his *kogaku*, "Ancient School", philosophy. Between 1696 and 1709 he served Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu, the most powerful man in Japan after the shogun, and it is said that he became the latter's trusted advisor because of his wide Chinese erudition. Evidence of his special standing in the house is the fact that he was asked by Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu to go on a special mission to Kai Province in 1706. Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu had about two years earlier exchanged his Kawagoe fief for Kai Province, which meant a substantial increase in stipend and a corresponding higher daimyo standing. This was also the land of his ancestors, and he was proudly aware of the fact that the great hero of Kai, Takeda Shingen (1521–1573), was his ancestor.

The journey to Kai was the only extensive travel that Ogyu Sorai undertook in adult life. It was thus a great event for him which had to be enshrined in Chinese poetry and prose. During the journey he wrote a travelogue, which was finished soon after the return to Edo and given the title *Furyushishaki*, "The Record of the Journey of the Elegant Emissaries." This is the long and complete record of the journey, also comprising all the poetry, 300 verses, written by himself and his travel companion, Tanaka Shogo. Later Ogyu Sorai revised and shortened the travelogue, giving it the title *Kyochukiko*, "Report from a Journey to Kai." The whole journey took thirteen days and is described day by day in the two versions. This translation covers the first two days, 13–14 October, 1706, from Edo, the capital, to Saruhashi in Kai.

TRANSLATION

In the autumn of the Year of the Dog (*hinoe-inu*) of the Hoei era (1706) I and Shogo (Tanaka Shogo)¹⁾ went to Kai (峠) on orders from our Lord.²⁾

(In our national language 峠 is pronounced Kai (甲斐), which name is derived from the fact that the area is full of mountain-passes (峠). Now, the /written/ name 甲斐 (Kai) has been used so long that people have forgotten that (峠) “mountain-pass” is the meaning of the word.)

The Kai domain had been made an enfeoffed province. The rejoicing of the lord of our *han* was great, when first he received his fief in Kai. He called the accounting officials³⁾ (*keiri*), who went to and fro, and enquired about the locations of the old estates, strongholds (*eiru*), and tombs (*kyufun*) of the families of the early lords. There was no one, however, who could remember having seen them at all.⁴⁾ Undertaking thereupon the construction of his family tomb (*juzo*) to the north of the administrative castle (*chijo*), he built a temple⁵⁾ named Reidai/ji.⁶⁾ (Later the name was changed to Eikei/ji.) He himself composed the inscription for the tomb. He had sent officials to draw pictorially and bring to him all the natural scenery (*sansen-keisho*) described in it. When the inscription was finished, he worried that it would perhaps give the same occasion for discussion as the nine rivers in the *Shu Ching* (*Uko kyuko*).⁷⁾ Therefore we received this mission. At the time I happened to have finished the collation of the provincial annals (*hojo*)⁸⁾ and the *Chin-shu*, *Liang-shu*, and *Nan-ch'i-shu*.⁹⁾

Then it happened on the third day of the ninth month that the shogun deigned to visit the mansion of our *han*, and all the scholars and gentlemen of the mansion had, as was their wont, to learn their profession (*igyō*) (in the presence of:) from the shogun, respectfully facing him and receiving gifts from him.¹⁰⁾ Consequently, we could not depart immediately. Not until the fifth day were we called to an audience /with Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu/. Besides receiving further instructions about the above-mentioned matter (the tomb at Reidaiji), we were also instructed to proceed west to Koma District¹¹⁾ (*ken*), to ascend Mukawa River,¹²⁾ and to visit the ancient sites (*oseki*) in the area of Aoki¹³⁾ and Yanagisawa. He bestowed upon us one overcoat each.¹⁴⁾

That night it rained and the wind blew. I worried that the road might be muddy and that the servants and the horse therefore would suffer and be tired out. Shogo then remarked, “Since the beginning of the world no scholar has ever travelled to Kai. The land of Kai is very rough. Now, our going there will beautify its mountains and valleys in cinnamon red (*tankaku*) and give its grass and trees a brocade shimmer (*kinshu*). And when the Gods of Kai know this, have they not to turn to those Gods of Wind and Rain to clear the way for us two?!” I laughed at his boastful talk.¹⁵⁾

Next day I went to my father's house and said farewell.¹⁶⁾ Shukutatsu,¹⁷⁾ colleagues, and friends came to wish me well on the journey. /An/do /Toya/¹⁸⁾

and /Yama/gata /Shunan/ /bade me farewell by/ presenting parting poems, whose words were very beautiful. I said farewell with a one-stanza impromptu poem (*ryubetsu*).¹⁹⁾

On the 7th day it was truly fine weather, and we set out just before daylight. The procession of two palanquins, two spear/-bearers/ with the banner of our *han*, three clerks, and about twenty servants, marched in good order, and had much the appearance of a petty official's (*zokuri*)²⁰⁾ mission. Only a flapper tail (*shubi*)²¹⁾ between the curtains of my palanquin flew its long hairs out gracefully in the wind, revealing the true /scholarly/ nature (*honso*) /of the rider/.

Passing the main entrance (*tanmon*) of the castle on our left side, we followed the battlements. The road led north through the outer wall and through Kojimachi and Yotsuya. It was not dawn until we reached Naito Station (Shinjuku).²²⁾ All the people sent by relatives and neighbours to see us off turned back.

In this area the *daimyo* country villas (*sosho*)²³⁾ are numerous. They are large in scope and seem to outdo even the residences at the castle (*tojo*),²⁴⁾ and they made depressing thoughts stir up in me. As we proceeded farther, we met with straw-thatched huts and bamboo fences.²⁵⁾ Thus gradually entering beautiful areas, we allowed the followers to walk as they liked ahead and behind.

In the palanquin I myself felt lighthearted and happy. I looked back over the time of more than a decade during which I had been confined in a cage (*hanro-chu kyokuseki-su*),²⁶⁾ never going out through the gates of the capital. I had done nothing but lift my face to noble people (*kijin*), and the bones of pride of my loins (*yokan-gokatsu*)²⁷⁾ had day by day grown weak and soft. But because the scholar (*bunjin*) has no dignified position and no fixed office, he occasionally enjoys periods of leisure; thus the constraint is somewhat lessened and he can have his own private life. When now, one day, thanks to an official mission, I found myself on this journey, I could not refrain from opening my mouth and blurting out how wonderful it was. From half-closed brushwood doors [of simple homes] along the road, snoring sounds from people in sleep were heard (outside). Then turning my eyes to the banners, blazing above my head, there I was, as before a guest in a noble carriage (*shosha*).²⁸⁾ ²⁹⁾ Feeling dejected, I composed a poem to give vent to my feelings.

We passed through Takaido, Ishihara, Kokuryo,³⁰⁾ and other stations. Buckwheat and *taro* leaves often covered the road, and the landscape looked more and more desolate.³¹⁾

When we arrived at Fuchu Station,³²⁾ we stopped for lunch. Now, at the time of the (*gun* and *ken*;) *ritsuryo* system, this was formerly the place where the province (*shu*) was administered. For more than 300 years no governor (*goba*)³³⁾ has been seated here, and there are /now/ only a scanty cluster of /some/ three households (*ko*)³⁴⁾ belonging to the station; thus it barely compares with stations before and after. When I asked about the traditions of the past, /I was told that/ they had deteriorated and almost vanished. Only the horse market on the first day of the eighth month remained.³⁵⁾

In this age when the province (*shu*) has risen and become the capital (*to*)³⁶⁾ /area/, it nevertheless still upholds its ancient name³⁷⁾ and uses it in its contacts with the Emperor's court (*renkoku no moto*).³⁸⁾ In spite of the shoguns' untiring gracious efforts and four generations³⁹⁾ of prosperity and peace, here remains entirely the same makeshift state of affairs as at the inception of the age. When this is so here, why should only the customs of Kai 'be regarded' as rough and primitive? I turned towards Shogo to hear his opinion, and he could not help agreeing.⁴⁰⁾

To the left of the road was an old shrine that looked very mysterious and remote, with a well-swept and imposing pathway /leading up to it/. Big cedars (*sugi*),⁴¹⁾ a number of fathoms in circumference, towered mightily in line along the pathway. Walking on foot, we followed the trees and entered /the shrine area/. We saw the stone portal (*kahyo*)⁴²⁾ broken in three or four pieces, lying on the ground. The shrine buildings did not give shelter from the sun. The wooden holy images (*moku-koji*)⁴³⁾ looked dismembered (*shikai*).⁴⁴⁾ This was then Rokusho-myojin Shrine (Shrine of the Illustrious Gods of Six Places).⁴⁵⁾ On the verandah (*bujo*)⁴⁶⁾ we saw eight /inscriptions of/ *waka* (*kashi*).⁴⁷⁾ We tried to read them, but we could not bring them into sound, whereupon we left in a hush.⁴⁸⁾

We passed Hino. In all the provinces where I have left my footmarks — Sagami, Awa, Shimosa, Kazusa⁴⁹⁾ — one finds this name.⁵⁰⁾ I wonder what it means.

We crossed Tama River at a public crossing (*kanto*).⁵¹⁾ Now, how are not the big rivers of our country without number! The virtue of this river is however indeed especially great, because the lives of so many millions of fated beings in the eastern capital (*toto*)⁵²⁾ /area/ are sustained by it. How is it not so that also unsentient beings are graced with Heavenly fortune! How much more /then/ not man! I have heard that there is also a Tamagawa River in the southern mountain (*nanzan*)⁵³⁾ /area/ and that it can poison people, and yet that river is mentioned in provincial (works of) poetry, but this /Tamagawa River/ is not mentioned! /Thus/ it is not only among men /that injustices take place/!⁵⁴⁾ ⁵⁵⁾

The households along the shores /of the river/ earn their living by raising cormorants (*roji*). The government decree of recent years forbidding the killing /of living things/ (*kinsatsu no rei*)⁵⁶⁾ has been very harsh on them (*sokushu*). Since we had never seen /cormorant-fishing/, we left the boat hurriedly and watched it for a long while. /The cormorants/ swallowed /the fish/ and then threw them up. Did they not use their mouths as their buttocks?! Were not their bellies more crowded than station taverns (*densha*)?!⁵⁷⁾ Was not, then, what they swallowed superior to them?? Yet, they are able to feed man with their leftovers: is not then man, in fine, inferior to them? For /only/ when the cormorants feed man with their leftovers does man obtain his food! Between those who feed and those who are fed there is thus practically no distance. Difficult in the extreme is indeed man's sustaining himself! Unconsciously dejected, I left the place.⁵⁸⁾

We stayed overnight at Hachioji,⁵⁹⁾ where the castle has long been in ruins. At

the time of the Vanquished State (*shokoku*)⁶⁰⁾ a certain Nakayama⁶¹⁾ protected the place, and he died for his lord. His descendants rose in the world, and there were those among them who distinguished themselves and became lords. Thus, the Way of Heaven in truth does not do injustice /to those who are worthy/. Further, there were those who came in the service of the lady of Kai⁶²⁾ and protected her place. Their descendants are the so-called 1000 lancers (*senso no tsuwamono*), and they still live here. Therefore, although the place is at a distance of 120 *ri* from the castle (*tojo*: Edo), the streets are as straight and orderly as within the walled city /of Edo/.⁶³⁾

Suddenly I remembered that I had once seen a sword at a friend's house, whose sharpness and shine was out of the ordinary. On its back was engraved a poem by a T'ang man. The characters were all in grass script, boldly flying and showing much elegance and excellence. /And it was said that/ it was sword artisans in this community who had cast it. I summoned the master of the inn and asked about it. He said that it was not /in this community/ but in Shitahara,⁶⁴⁾ and that it was another few *ri*'s way there. Because it was dusk, I could not go there, which made me feel disappointed.

Shogo said furthermore that Tama(gawa) River, which we had crossed earlier, looked very much like Rokugo(gawa) River.⁶⁵⁾ He was then thinking of a journey in an earlier year, to Sagami with his mother (*itagoshi*).⁶⁶⁾ This event was for his eyes as clear as yesterday. Now, however, his mother was dead, and this day was exactly the anniversary of her death. I wept also, my tears dropped and I could not sleep.

On the eighth day we set out from the inn at cockcrow. As the road entered the mountains, it became steep and very dangerous. From Kawahara (Kawara) to Komakine⁶⁷⁾ we could not yet discern any colour /in the dark/. There was a barrier set up at a strategic place. A local person told us that it could not be passed until after dawn. The official at the barrier had however already opened the latch. Must he not have seen a purple atmosphere (*shiki*)?⁶⁸⁾ After another six or seven *ri*,⁶⁹⁾ there was Kobotoke Station in the middle of the mountains. Leaving the station, the road became more and more hazardous. A steep mountain path in 48 undulations forms the so-called Kobotoke Pass, which is said to be the dividing-point between Sagami and Musashi. On the road from the castle (*tojo*) to Kai it is the most strategic place.⁷⁰⁾

There was a tea-shop by the foot of the mountain, situated six *ri* from the summit; six *ri* on the other side of the summit, there was another. This means that for the twelve *ri* in between we could not get a drop to moisten our lips.⁷¹⁾

The mountain path was winding and meandering. The corners of the rocks were like polished fangs, gnawing at people's feet and fingers. Everyone in the party suffered extremely, but it could not be helped. The higher we climbed, the steeper the path became. All /servants (*bokuju*)/⁷²⁾ stooped, and forming chains pushed the buttocks of the palanquin-bearers. In the palanquin I sat bent and crouched; yet I felt as if I were facing the sky and tumbling over /backwards/.

When I was a child in the hills of Awa, I was very much used to narrow, winding mountain-passes.⁷³⁾ Yet I cried out that I had never experienced anything like this. Thus it was understandable how Shogo felt!⁷⁴⁾

When at one time I raised my head out from the palanquin, I saw above us one of the clerks, who was coming back towards us from the reverse direction on a higher level.⁷⁵⁾ Then I understood the wondrous meaning of /the saying of/ ancient people: "It looks like going but is returning."

The whole mountain is covered by lush small forest, with hardly any big trees. The mountain people all gather mulberry leaves and raise silk-worms.⁷⁶⁾

To the left was a mountain stream with strange rocks and mysterious cliffs rising in it. The water hit the rocks and made noises that sounded like the tinkling of jades.⁷⁷⁾ Together Shogo and I left the palanquins, and, skirting a cliff, we reached that place /by the stream/.⁷⁸⁾ We stood there for a long while, chanting /Chinese poetry/, while all the servants smoked and rested, crouching on top of the cliff, just like people who know happiness.⁷⁹⁾

From here we walked on foot up the mountain. Close to the top, we suddenly heard the belling of deer. We were transfixed by the sublimity of the scene and felt the steps of a God⁸⁰⁾ who, on his way, seemed to warn the herd of deer away. On the right side of a cliff was a place where gold was mined. On a bulletin board /it was said that/ people carrying swords were forbidden to enter the (cave:) mine.⁸¹⁾ Therefore, /being *samurai*/ we could not go in and look. At the entrance of the cave black stone dross, which looked like charcoal, was piled. It was said that it was probably what the spirit of gold, full of fury, had scorched.⁸²⁾

Having reached the summit, we looked about. North and south hundreds of mountains appeared in layer after layer, stretching out there like the wings of an enormous P'eng⁸³⁾ (Ho) bird.

The farther away, the more /the panorama/ opened up, and exactly in the east it opened up entirely. On the horizon far away we saw a belt of blue sky (*yoheki*), stretching horizontally close to earth. There were then all the mountains of /yonder/ Kazusa and Shimosa provinces. Everything else merged into a blur of blue, and we could not discern where Edo (*tojo*) was located. The feeling of homesickness /that we had felt/ on the road the day before had been overcome by the beauty of the country scenery (*yashu*). Not until reaching this mountain did we feel like weeping. For is it not thought that Heaven put this /mountain/ and the lushly green (*ussui*) Mount Hakone (Kanrei)⁸⁴⁾ as a boundary between east and west? If so, should one really cross this mountain and go west?!⁸⁵⁾

We had the palanquins stop for a good while. Unable, however, to stand the storm-wind, which penetrated our bodies, we resumed our journey.⁸⁶⁾ Having meandered down a couple of bends, I looked down into a valley, about 1000 *jiri*⁸⁷⁾ (8000 feet) below, where a number of simple homesteads /could be seen/.⁸⁸⁾ Fresh green colours radiated up, and the scene was admirably clean and beautiful. People all looked one inch (*sun*) tall, and it was like seeing things in a basin, but things which could move about.⁸⁹⁾ A Buddhist Sutra says,⁹⁰⁾ "Buddha (Nyorai)

leaps into empty space a hundred *yojana* (*yujun*)⁹¹⁾ up and looks down upon the lands in all the ten directions and their numberless living beings, who are like *mango* (*anmara*)⁹²⁾ fruits in his hand." Was it not just like this?

Suddenly I wondered whether /a man by/ a blue stream in the deep ravine was not the man in Kuo-p'o's poem.⁹³⁾ Since I wished to hurry and see that man, I discarded the palanquin and descended /on foot/. As my hurry was great, I did not notice that the descent was as steep and dangerous as the ascent. Down in the valley we reached the houses of poor people whose wretchedness cannot be described. We saw an old woman in rags with a grandchild eight or nine years old.⁹⁴⁾ Her emaciated face was like that of a ghost. Still, to our wonder, she knew human speech very well. Everyone was stunned. Only I had my silly imagination intact /and I noted that/ it is also said, "When the "stone marrow" (*sekizui*)⁹⁵⁾ came into the hands of Shu-yeh, it immediately congealed and could not be eaten. Then, how can we know that this is not Yün-fang *hsien-sheng*⁹⁶⁾ in the guise of a beggar?" This brought forth much derisive laughter.⁹⁷⁾

We passed the tea-house on the west side of the mountain. Climbing downhill, we followed the road down along three or four slopes.⁹⁸⁾ We passed through Ohara Station and Yose Station,⁹⁹⁾ which /last/ station is situated 13 *ri* from Kobotoke Pass with houses in very good order. Having descended both Take(no)hana slope and Kaisawa slope,¹⁰⁰⁾ we realized the extreme height of /Kobotoke/ Pass. To the left we saw Sagami/gawa/ River (Shosui)¹⁰¹⁾ hidden among the trees of the forest. We were told that it was the lower stream of /the river at/ Saruhashi. The water was very tranquil. As we passed Yoshino Station, we fancied the cherry blossoms of the spring months to be just in full bloom.¹⁰²⁾ At the end of the slope was Kosaru/hashi/ Bridge,¹⁰³⁾ 12 *jo* (120 feet) long, astride Sawai/gawa/ River. On the other side of the bridge was a slope. Having passed Fujino Village and Sekino Station, the road again went downwards. Sagami/gawa/ River (Shosui) could be seen anew to the left of the road. Looking down from inside the palanquin, I could see it beyond a little mound, and on its southern side cliffs hung down scores of feet. Countless scattered rocks rose in the water, which churned and flowed wildly and did not seem so peaceful as a while earlier.

As we came further downwards, there was Sakaigawa (Border River)¹⁰⁴⁾ with a small bridge leading across. This is the river whose opposite shores form the border between Sagami and Kai; hence its name. On the other side of the river, it happened again and again that people whom we met took off their straw hats and dismounted their horses. This was because they recognized the banner /of our clan/. We again ascended a slope, and arrived at Suwa.¹⁰⁵⁾ It was now sunny and warm. Sitting in the swaying palanquins we began to feel sleepy; therefore we both went on foot. We arrived at Uenohara, where we ordered food.¹⁰⁶⁾ There were inns in abundance showing bustling activity, but it was no beautiful sight.

We crossed Tsurukawa, and came to a mountain path. As we ascended Nagamine slope, we passed Tsurukawa Station,¹⁰⁷⁾ Notajiri Station, Yatsubo

Station, Hebiki-shinden,¹⁰⁸) and Inume Station. An old fortress in ruins on the right side of the slope was built at the time of Kisan (Takeda Shingen)¹⁰⁹) by a certain Kato, /Governor of/ Tango.¹¹⁰) In front of the fortress was a small pond. A local person boasted and called it one of the eight lakes of Kai, and said further that it neither dried at times of drought nor overflowed at times of flood. It was, however, only a shallow well with hardly room for a frog.¹¹¹) How could it then be called a lake?! The fortress was also not very high. /From this elevation,/ however, we had a panoramic view, which stretched from Kobotoke in the east to Sasago in the west, and all the way to Tsuru District (*ken*)¹¹²) in the south.¹¹³) In fact, from the crossing of Sakaigawa and up to here, all toes had (looked:) turned upwards and as we proceeded and came higher and higher, before we knew it the land had already reached the same level as the middle of Kobotoke.¹¹⁴)

Farther ahead, a lofty pine /greeted us as if/bowing (*fusu*)¹¹⁴) to the left of the road, with all its boughs in a vigorous spread to the sides. Soaring scores of feet, it was more than a thousand years old. I heard that long ago a noble wished to spend a thousand strings of coppers to have it delivered, but it was not possible. As a result, people named it the Pine of a Thousand Strings of Coppers (*Senganmatsu*). Did not the noble pine (*gotai fu*),¹¹⁶) then, despise the copper smell (*doshu*) of it?¹¹⁷) Yet, is it not rather so that to possess the virtue of being pure and lofty, and to compound this with the name and reputation of being wealthy, can be /the Pleroma of/ a Yang-chou¹¹⁸) Crane (*Yoshu no tsuru*)?!¹¹⁹)¹²⁰)

Crossing Inume Pass, there was /Inume-/shinden, also called Koizuka (Mound of Love). What village lass¹²¹) can have left behind such a seductively charming name? From there until Torizawa Station, it was but a mountain path. The day was waning, and the servants were very tired. People's houses were far away, and there being no torches showing the road ahead, the palanquin bearers' feet groped their way among the sharp corners of rocks, as they proceeded. At times it happened that they stepped into a void and stumbled; the palanquins then (danced) jerked without end on their shoulders. Again and again they lost balance and were about to fall. At length we alighted from the palanquins and walked in the dark, and thus we reached the place called Saruhashi (Monkey Bridge).¹²²)

Those who had walked ahead came back and reported that there were holes in the planks of the bridge, that the beams were bent and did not look as if they would bear, and that we could not walk across. We hesitated for a long while. It then happened that a clerk, who had gone to look for an inn, came back with a torch, and with him came the owner of the inn to welcome us. He told us that the bridge was built by the Monkey King (*En'o*),¹²³) that it was 11 jo (110 feet) long, that it was 33 *jin* (264 feet) down to the surface of the water, and that the water was also 33 *jin* deep.¹²⁴) We then asked a clerk to climb outside the railing, and, holding the railing with his left hand, to lower the torch and make it shine, turned downwards. From the side we looked down into a black void. The strength of the light was not enough to reach /the surface of the water/. As the clerk bent down more and more and stretched his arm, in the end it came to the point that the flame

leaped the other way upwards and was about to burn his hand. He then hastily let go of it. It fell and reached the surface of the water, where it was extinguished. As a result I could see things faintly as I followed the torch with my eyes until it was extinguished. Everything was as the inn-keeper had said. There was not a single pillar under the bridge. The bridge was constructed by cantilevering huge timbers on top of each other from both banks. In each case the timber above jutted about one *shaku* farther out than the timber below. By cantilevering /timber/ on top of one another, which jutted out more and more, it had been possible to make /the two banks/ approach each other and be bridged.¹²⁵⁾ In truth a divine creation!¹²⁶⁾

The cliffs were shining and smooth and did not show a crack. It was as if they were planed and polished. A local person said, "There is a cauldron¹²⁷⁾ half way up the cliff, where a divine snake lives. When the year is dry, the people assemble and scoop the cauldron dry. When the snake appears, it rains." When we asked amazed, "How do the people manage to reach the place of the cauldron?" he said, "The local people are children of this soil and excelling in water. Even if you tie together their hands and feet and throw them under the bridge, they will not die." All who heard this put out their tongues /in disbelief/. Yet we asked, "It seems as if the rocks of the cliffs are without a crack. Can it be that the moss with its velvety smoothness makes them so?" He said, "All the (hundred families) people at the station live on a slab of rock. Also this river is nothing but a water-way (*mizo*) through the /same/ big slab of rock."¹²⁸⁾ More and more astounded by such strange tales,¹²⁹⁾ in the end we put up for the night at the station. It was very cold during the night.

1) Tanaka Shogo (or Seigo; also known under the name Toko) (1668–1742) was like Sorai employed in the Yanagisawa house as a Confucian scholar. He was Sorai's friend in the service, to which this record bears witness. For more about him, see my *The Life of Ogyu Sorai, A Tokugawa Confucian Scholar* (Lund, 1973), p. 141.

2) Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (1658–1714) received most of Kai Province in fief in 1704. *Furyushishaki* (afterwards F.), *kan* 1, begins by stating that Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (Lord of Kawagoe) had his fief moved to Kai in the Year of the Monkey (1704), and that Kai was the land of his ancestors, — Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu became the lord of Kawagoe in 1694 with a stipend of 72,030 *koku*. When he received Kai in 1704, his stipend rose to about 150,000 *koku*.

3) F. says: He frequently called the accounting officials, who came to his mansion, and asked them about ancient matters concerning Mukawa and Yanagisawa. There was no one, however, who had personally been to those places and had detailed knowledge about the locations of fortresses and estates.

4) F. adds: In the following third year (1705) changes were seen everywhere and the people were in peace, and the high officials in the province came and reported that the government was formed and in operation. The Lord then had work started on an administrative building within the castle and all earlier demolished buildings were being rebuilt and were gradually reaching their completion.

5) In F. it is mentioned that the temple is built at the foot of Tsutsujigasaki on the eastern side, 10 *ri* north-east of the administrative castle. Reidaiji's "mountain" name, On-on-san, is also mentioned.

6) Reidaiji (later Eikeiji) was built in the Obaku Zen style, and it is said that Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu used 30,000 *ryo* for its construction. After his death in 1714 he was buried there. In 1724, however, the temple was demolished, and his remains and his tomb were moved to Erinji. The temple was rebuilt in the vicinity of Koriyama Castle, where it is still found today.

7) Reference to the *Shu Ching*, where it is said that King Yü brought the "nine rivers" (*kyuko*) under complete control. The whereabouts of these rivers has been much discussed in Chinese literature, to which Sorai alludes here. See Legge J., *The Chinese Classics, III, The Shoo King* (Hong Kong, 1960), pp. 92–151. This allusion is not found in F. Instead, in F. it is mentioned that Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu was (yet) worried, when writing the inscription for the tomb, because petty officials (*zokuri*) use all strength on state affairs and make light of refinement (*fuga*); further, because painters concentrate on pictorial likeness and rarely attain the soul and spirit of the matter. Now, occupying a high and important position, Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu could not himself go and see what was several hundred *ri* distant. He had only a one-sheet sketch to rely upon, and then, however much he strained himself, there must necessarily be some miniscule disparity. If, with regard to the marvels which the gods conceal, he did not have literary gentlemen scrutinize created things, how could he get at their fleeting hundred aspects of changes without missing the true beauty of (Roazan) Kai!? Therefore, carefully choosing among the literary talents within the *han*, he selected Butsu Mokei (Sorai) and Den Shogo. Mokei is the Han-Liu (Han Yü – Liu Tsung-yüan) scholar of the age, and Shogo is the Ch'in-Shang (Ch'in Hua-li – Shang Lü-wang) (A) scholar in the world. Both have since childhood had the Chinese classics as their occupation, and they command the beauties of the Parnassus of Chinese poetry at their will. Those were the people whom the lord chose for the project. —

(A) Han Yü (768–824) and Liu Tsung-yüan (773–819), two leading Confucian scholars of the T'ang era; Ch'in Hua-li lived in the Warring States era in China and was a disciple of Mo Tzu; and Shang Lü-wang was a statesman under King Wen and King Wu in early Chou times in China. Sorai considered himself a T'ang scholar around this time, thus the reference to Han and Liu. How Shogo reflected Ch'in and Shang is a more intricate problem. Perhaps it is his martial (and irrational) propensities which are alluded to by reference to these personages.

8) *Hojo* can refer to both national and provincial annals. It is clear below, however, that the term refers to annals concerning the province of Kai in this text.

9) *Chin-shu*, *Liang-shu*, and *Nan-ch'i-shu* are three of the Chinese Dynastic Histories, which Sorai annotated in his service in the Yanagisawa house. Such literary work was probably Sorai's main occupation in this service. See Yoshikawa Kojiro, *Gakuan*, p. 657, in *Nihonshisotaiki*, 36 (Tokyo, 1973), and Lidin, *op. cit.* p. 51.

10) Shogun Tsunayoshi's visit is not mentioned in F.; neither is it mentioned in the *Tokugawa jikki*. These visits were solemn occasions when first of all the shogun himself, but also Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu and his house scholars, lectured or participated in discussions. The lectures usually concerned the Confucian classics, and had an ethical purport. Presents were bestowed on the participants. See Lidin, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–40.

11) Koma was the westernmost of the four districts of Kai. It corresponds to today's Kita-koma-gun. Sorai uses the term *ken* with the meaning "district". Usually the term means "province" in Japanese history. In F. Koma district is not mentioned, they are only instructed to search for the historical sites in the Mukawa area.

12) Mukawa here probably refers only to Omukawa River, beside which Yanagisawa Village is located. It was the final goal of their journey.

13) Aoki is considered to belong to the Mukawa area.

14) F. says that the lord with many consoling words bestowed overcoats upon them, and that they withdrew from his presence expressing their deeply-felt gratitude. In F. the 6th day, thereupon, begins by saying that a high official of the *han*, Yabuta Shigenori, entrusts letters with Sorai to be delivered to the high officials in the province, Yanagi-shi, Fuji-shi, Suzu-shi, and to others.

15) This whole passage is lacking in F. It should be noted that this is the first time that Sorai and Shogo exchange pleasant and laughable remarks in this work. There are a number of such instances during the journey, which reveal their personalities and give a merry tone to the narrative. It should also be noted that it is usually Shogo who is the butt of the laughter.

16) Sorai's father was then 80 years old, and was to die later in the year.

17) Shukutatsu refers to Sorai's younger brother, usually named Tasuku or Soshichiro. He was also a Confucian scholar and close to Sorai. He died in 1754.

18) Ando Toya (?1682–1719) and Yamagata Shunan (1687–1752) were among Sorai's first students. See Lidin, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–136. In the text they are mentioned as To-sei and Ken-sei, Master To and Master Ken.

¹⁹⁾ Neither Sorai's father or younger brother, nor Ando or Yamagata are mentioned in F.; only that colleagues and friends come and that poetry is written. Both Sorai's and Shogo's farewell poems are given, the first of their 300 poems in F.

²⁰⁾ *Zokuri*, "petty official," was as derogatory a term among scholars in Sorai's time as it is today. In F. the term *bujin*, "military man," is used with the same derogatory connotation. Sorai and Shogo, on the other hand, proudly considered themselves to be literary people (*bunjin*) and men of culture and refinement. In F. this comes out clearly when it is said that also Shogo has an artifact (*nyo'i*, a Buddhist priest's staff made of bamboo root) hanging between the curtains of his palanquin, and that these adornments evince elegance and refinement.

²¹⁾ *Shubi*, lit. "deer's tail." Here rendered as "flapper tail." Synonymous term: *hossu*, an oblong whisk of wood on whose sides and top hair are inserted, used by Buddhists and Confucian teachers.

²²⁾ In F. the route through Edo is described in more detail: After travel preparations in the early morning, they start from the "eastern mansion" (Kandabashi) at Mitsuhashi, take the road to the north of the castle, cross Takebashi Bridge and pass through the old area of Nezumi-ana, before they reach the outer wall, then Kojimachi, then Yotsuya, and arrive at Naito. — Naito, today's Shinjuku, was the first station on the *Koshukaido*, the official road to Kai. As for the names Naito and Shinjuku see Higuchi Kiyoyuki, *Zoku Umebashi to Nihonto*, (Tokyo, 1975), pp. 24–30.

²³⁾ *Sosho* (F. *bessho*), "country villa," refers to the suburban residences of the *daimyo*, usually named *shimoyashiki*, "lower residence." As for *shimoyashiki* in this area, see for example Fujiwara Yukikane, *Edo meisho-shi* (1746), reedited by Yokozeki Hideichi (Tokyo, 1972), with the new title *Kofu (Edo) meishoshi*, p. 106. See also Higuchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–25.

²⁴⁾ Sorai uses here the term *tojo*, "capital-castle," for Edo; in this translation rendered as "castle" or "capital".

²⁵⁾ F. says: As they proceed further, they see in the distance a column of smoke rising from a straw-thatched hut. Through the trees at the edge of the forest, the morning sun is beginning to shine; the rustic scenery vividly recalls a picture by Mosen (the Chinese poet and painter Wang Wei of Wang-ch'uan (Mosen) River.)

²⁶⁾ *Hanro-chu ni kyokuseki-su*. *Hanro*, "a cage for beasts or birds", simile for cramped conditions; *kyokuseki*, "to feel cramped and not at ease", derived from the longer term *kyokuten-sekichi*, "to crouch in awe in front of Heaven, and to be wary of stepping on earth". This latter term, which is found in the *Shih Ching*, expresses a situation when a person is in great fear and does not know what to do with his person. Sorai uses the whole phrase, which might be his own, to describe what kind of life he had lived between 1696–1709. It is not found in F.

²⁷⁾ *Yokan no gokotsu*, "the bones of pride of the loins". In Chinese thinking various bones are the seats of sentiments. Thus the bones of the loins are considered to be the bones of pride. It is said that Li Po could not bend in front of people because of his bones of pride. What Sorai expresses here is that he had become used to being servile to noble people.

²⁸⁾ *Shosha* (or *yosha*), "light carriage drawn by one horse", here euphemism for palanquin, *kago*.

²⁹⁾ Most of the above paragraph is not expressed in F. F. says that they are both simple, rustic gentlemen who were once blessed by coming into the service of a *han*, and who therefore have to keep to their studies in gratitude and humility. By chance they have come on this journey. Sorai, remembering the wretched conditions he had lived in ten years earlier, lets the followers walk as they like before and after. In leisurely conversation they travel on together.

³⁰⁾ Takaido, Ishihara, and Kokuryo were stations on the *Koshukaido* route.

³¹⁾ In F.: Here and there was rocky ground with buckwheat and *taro* fields.

³²⁾ Fuchu was in the ancient imperial administrative system (*ritsuryo*) the capital of the Musashi area, which meant that it was the capital of a large frontier area and a central point on the road between Mutsu and Dewa in the north and Kamakura. Sorai implies that this system changed around 1400, but it remained until the inception of the Edo era.

³³⁾ *Goba*, lit. "five horses"; euphemism for "governor". The term refers to the fact that a governor in ancient China travelled in a carriage drawn by five horses. In F. *taishu*, also meaning "governor".

³⁴⁾ *Ko*, "household/belonging to a station/" might here refer to the fact that Fuchu Station comprised three inns (*Dainihonchimeijiten*, p. 2815).

³⁵) In F. the old glory and the present decay are expressed in more vivid terms: Administrators and soldiers bustled about calling people to order, local deputies came for audiences and consultations, the people of the province came for legal affairs, and offices and residences must have been accordingly numerous. But stars move and things change, and now there are only some forlorn tens of straw-thatched huts. There is no village worth being called a village, and no shop worth being called a shop. Only some tens of *ri* away from Edo Sorai and Shogo already feel a dislike for the childish prattle of people, and they sigh for a long while.

³⁶) This refers to the fact that Musashi with Edo became the ruling province with the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate. *To*, "capital", used verbally here, refers to Edo.

³⁷) It should be noticed that the term *fuchu* has connotations of capital and administrative centre. In the old imperial administrative system it denoted the capital in each province. Sorai thinks it presumptuous that they hang on to the old name. It should be noticed that there is an "honourable gap" in the text in F., when Fuchu is mentioned.

³⁸) *Renkoku*, lit. "nave of man-pulled carriage", refers to Emperor's carriage, and derivatively to the Emperor's court (*renkoku no moto*) and to the Emperor himself. It is also possible that Sorai refers to the shogun's government with the term, since he repeatedly uses imperial terms below with clear reference to the shogun and his court in Edo.

³⁹) The four generations (*shidai*) refer to the Tokugawa period from 1600 to 1706, and to four of the five shoguns during this period. Either Ieyasu or Tsunayoshi must be left out.

⁴⁰) This paragraph does not appear in F.

⁴¹) Sorai made a mistake here. The trees lining the long pathway up to the shrine were *keyaki* (Zelkova) trees. These trees have a long history. They were first planted in 908 by Minamoto no Yoriyoshi and Minamoto no Yoshiie, who had prayed for victory in the shrine on the way up to Oshu, and in gratitude for victory had planted 1000 trees on their way back. Tokugawa Ieyasu, likewise, prayed for victory here before Sekigahara and the campaigns at Osaka, and he, too, planted *keyaki* trees to repay the gods. The trees were declared a historical nature monument in 1924.

⁴²) *Kahyo*, lit. "flowery outside"; "entrance in front of a grave", *torii*. According to a work, *Shinki*, quoted in *Dainihonchimeijisho*, p. 2815, there was later in Tokugawa a big *torii* with an inscription by Hosoi Kotaku (1658-1735) who was Sorai's colleague in the Yanagisawa house. Can it be that Sorai influenced the erection of a new *torii*? The present *torii* was erected only some decades ago.

⁴³) *Moku-koji*, lit. "wooden lay-man Buddhist gentleman". Originally *koji* referred to a learned, retired scholar-recluse. Here the term must mean "wooden holy image", or "wooden Buddha-image". In F. the term *shinpei no zo*, "image of holy soldier", is used for the same, and it is said that they were located to the left and right of the entrance.

⁴⁴) *Shikai*, "dismembered", probably refers to the fact that the arms were cut off from the images. In F. *kaihaku* with approximately the same meaning. There are today at the temple five wooden images, about 40 cm. high, which indeed are more or less dismembered. The question is whether it was these images which according to F. were placed at the entrance of the shrine.

⁴⁵) *Bujo* perhaps refers to the covered hall-way by the entrance.

⁴⁶) *Rokusho-myōjin*, "Illustrious Gods of Six Places." In the old provincial capitals or in their neighbourhood was a shrine where the gods of different localities were worshipped collectively. This temple, which today is referred to as Okunitamajinja, was situated close to the inns of Fuchu Station, and thus it was easy for Sorai and Shogo to walk here. The shrine is today proud of its annals, which, rightly or wrongly, begin B.C. 201. For the history of this shrine, see for example, *Dainihonchimeijiten*, vol. 6, pp. 208-9.

⁴⁷) F. says *waka*, K. says *kashi*.

⁴⁸) F. says: The servants remain at the inn, while Sorai and Shogo visit the shrine. They find the roofs (*rou*) broken, not giving shelter from wind or rain. Coming up to the main hall (*haiden*), they meet an old priest (*roshoku*), who at first glance looks like a peasant. However, his top-knot is a Shinto priest's. Seeing gentlemen coming, he immediately begins to tell the story of the shrine. In a vulgar display of spirit he taps his fan and recites rhythmically, and looks like a revivalist monk proclaiming his faith. It was in indescribably bad taste. He tells them that when Hachiman Taro (Minamoto no Yoriyoshi) returned from subjugating the bandits in Oshu, he stationed his troops in this shrine and gave notifications of rewards to deserving officials and soldiers. Now

Sorai's interest is awakened when he hears about ancient things, and he and the priest get into further conversation. Shogo, however — apparently not as interested in history — shows his disinterest by turning his sleeves and leaving them. Then, looking about on the verandah, they see eight *waka*, but cannot bring them into sound, and they look at each other and laugh. When they are about to enter their palanquins, they write one poem each.

⁴⁹⁾ This is interesting information about Sorai: besides Kazusa, where he lived during his father's banishment, he has also visited Awa, probably during the same banishment, and Shimosa and Sagami, before the trip to Kai in 1706.

⁵⁰⁾ The place name Hino is indeed found all over Japan, and the meaning of the name is still under discussion. See, for example, Sato Kotaro, *Tama-rekishi sanpo*, 2, (Tokyo, 1974), pp. 232–4.

⁵¹⁾ *Kanto*, "public crossing." This was an important governmental check-point during the Tokugawa era.

⁵²⁾ *Toto*, "eastern capital", refers to Edo.

⁵³⁾ *Nanzan*, "southern mountain," another name for Koyasan. Koyasan was referred to as the southern mountain while Hieisan was referred to as the northern mountain. One of the six Tamagawa rivers (*Mutamagawa*) in Japan flows from Koyasan. It is only a small river that can not be compared with the mighty Tamagawa in the Tokyo area, but it is indeed much mentioned in *waka* poetry. It was perhaps Kobo Daishi (774–835) who began the long-lived tradition that the water of Tamagawa at Koyasan was poisonous, when he wrote the enigmatic poem: *Wasurete mo kumi ya shitsuran tabibito no Takano no oku no Tamagawa no mizu* (Travellers, you should not scoop the water of Tamagawa down behind Takano even in your forgetfulness!). In Sorai's own age Ueda Akinari discussed this in *Ugetsu monogatari* with the conclusion that the water was pure (Ueda Akinari-shu, *Iwanami shoten kanko*, vol. 56, p. 82 and p. 281; see also *Tales of Moonlight and Rain, Japanese Gothic Tales by Ueda Akinari*, tr. by Kengi Hamada, Univ. of Tokyo Press, 1971, pp. 75–9.)

Sorai shows his ignorance, however, when he says that no poetry has been written about Tamagawa in Kanto. Already in *Manyoshu* (*kan* 14, *Azuma-uta*) it is mentioned and often afterwards, not least in his own time, for example, in *nagauta*.

⁵⁴⁾ Was Sorai thinking of himself here? When Sorai added these lines in K., he had moved from the Yanagisawa house, and often in the following years he expressed that he had not obtained due recognition. It is of interest that this is not found in F.

⁵⁵⁾ F. is laconic here. It only mentions that they pass Hino where there is a station and that they cross Tamagawa River which is a public crossing.

⁵⁶⁾ *Kinsatsu no rei*, "decree forbidding the killing /of living things/," refers to the "laws of compassion for living things" (*gorui awaremi no rei*), which were first issued in 1687 by Shogun Tsunayoshi and remained in force until 1709. See, for example, G. Sansom, *A History of Japan 1615–1867* (Stanford, 1963), pp. 133–4.

⁵⁷⁾ *Densha*, a public inn at a station, where the travellers broke their journey for food, drink, and merriment, and also for the night. Sorai seems to imply here that the guest is of more importance than the inn.

⁵⁸⁾ Except for the first sentence this passage is not found in F. It could not have been written in 1706, when the mentioned decree was still in force, but only after 1709. It is a beautiful specimen of Sorai's style, personal and rather impenetrable, with which his writings abound.

⁵⁹⁾ The castle of Hachioji was destroyed in 1590 by Hideyoshi's allies Maeda Toshiie and Uesugi Kagekatsu, and the population was dispersed. The city was rebuilt at a new location at the beginning of the Tokugawa era by Okubo Nagayasu (1612), and became an important military post where the "1000 *doshin* (constables)" for the protection of Kobotoke Pass were stationed. These 1000 consisted of earlier Takeda forces who had turned to Tokugawa Ieyasu after the débâcle in 1582.

⁶⁰⁾ *Shokoku*, "vanquished state," term used by Sorai to indicate the era that begins with the overthrow of the Takeda state in Kai. The term can be traced to the *Chou li*.

⁶¹⁾ Reference to Nakayama Kageyu Ienori, who in 1590 put up a valiant fight at Hachioji Castle and perished with wife and children when the castle caught fire. Apparently one son, Nobukichi, survived, and his son, in turn, a house elder (*karo*) was in Sorai's time in Tokugawa Mitsukuni's service. It is possible that Sorai heard of, or perhaps even met, this grandson, and added these sentences about the Nakayama family, which are not found in F. See Takahashi Genichiro, *Musashino rekishi-chiri* (Tokyo, 1972), pp. 322–329.

⁶²⁾ The lady of Kai probably refers to Takeda Shingen's daughter O-matsu, also known under her monastic name Nun Niitachi. Tradition has it that she was Takeda Shingen's sixth daughter, and that she was betrothed to

Oda Nobunaga's son Nobutada at seven years of age. After the defeat in 1582, she came to Hachioji, and old Takeda retainers built a house for her and served her. She died in 1616 at 55. Sorai ties together her arrival with the arrival of the later *doshin*, but in all probability they came separately. She seems to have been a legendary person in his time, fondly connected with the first Tokugawa shoguns, Ieyasu and Hidetada. See Takahashi, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-192 and 205-207; and Sato Kotaro, *Tama rekishi sanpo*, vol. 1 (Tokyo, 1973), pp. 242-281. The lady of Kai is not mentioned in F.

⁶³) In F. the history of Hachioji is not touched upon. It is only mentioned that Hachioji is located 120 *ri* (exaggeration!) from Edo and belongs to Tama District.

⁶⁴) Shitahara was a well-known smithery to the east of Hachioji, run for generations by a Yamamoto family. In F. Sorai asks about Yamamoto Gaiki Toshinaga and Muto (Musashi) Taro, and he is told that they live 10 *ri* away in Shitahara, and that they are old and poor. Sorai, who among samurai has heard of the indescribable sharpness (*eiri*) of their cast /swords/, is surprised and asks for the reason for (their poverty). The inn-keeper then tells him, "They are many /in this day and age/ who buy ploughs, and they are few who buy swords". Shogo, struck by his words, says, "There you were *sharp* (*eiri*), inn-keeper, you need say no more." Then follows Shogo's poem, with which he commemorates the anniversary of his mother's death, and Sorai couples it.

⁶⁵) Rokugogawa, another name for lower Tamagawa. In F., at the time that they cross the river, Shogo asks surprised, "Is this Rokugogawa?" and the boat man answers, "This is its upper reach," whereupon Sorai and Shogo write one poem each.

⁶⁶) *Itagoshi*, a kind of palanquin; term used for an official's mother.

⁶⁷) There is no Kawahara (Kawara) Station mentioned in available lists of the stations of the *Koshukaido* route. Komagine is usually given as Komakino or Komagino. Komakino lies at the eastern foot of Kobotoke. The barrier was set up there in 1641. The place is today remembered as a historical place, where a commemorative stone is raised. See Sato Kotaro, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 184-196.

⁶⁸) *Shiki*, "purple atmosphere": allusion to legend about Lao Tzu: When the master of Han-ku Barrier saw one night a "purple atmosphere" moving from east to west, he concluded that a sage was passing through the metropolitan district and performed purification. Soon Lao Tzu came. The same legend is alluded to in one of Tu Fu's Eight Poems of Autumn: "The purple atmosphere, coming from the east, filled the Han-ku Barrier." In this poem the "purple atmosphere" refers to Emperor Hsüan Tsung. Perhaps in jest Sorai compares himself with Lao Tzu and Hsüan Tsung. Later in life, however, he expressed more than once that he was a man with a mission in the world, which made him criticised in the scholarly world. On his deathbed he is also supposed to have spoken of a "purple cloud". See Lidin, *op. cit.*, p. 170. The "purple atmosphere" is not mentioned in F.

⁶⁹) Perhaps because Sorai's arithmetic was not so strong, the distances given during this journey are not to be relied upon. They are throughout exaggerated. He can also here be under the influence of the Chinese habit of overstating distances through rough terrain.

⁷⁰) F. adds that they start at 4 o'clock in the morning from Hachioji. At the barrier a local person tells them that they must wait until daybreak, and another that all the servants of senior governmental officials (*kakuro*) can pass also at night. And the guardian, realizing that they are the emissaries of the Kai *han*, opens the barrier-gate in a hurry (This was thus the real "purple atmosphere": the sight of the Yanagisawa banner). By now it is also morning. At Kobotoke Station a peasant tells Sorai that a monk, Samon, in ancient times made 1000 small Buddha images in this mountain; hence the name of the mountain (Kobotoke: "Little Buddha"). In a small road-side temple they see an enshrined image of Dainichi Buddha, three *sun* tall, which might be a surviving specimen of the 1000 Buddha images. F. adds further that the area belongs to Aiko District of Sagami and that the summit of the pass constitutes the border between Sagami and Musashi.

⁷¹) In F. the distance up and the distance down are given as 19 *cho* respectively, thus 38 *cho* between the tea-shops. Since 1 *ri* equals 3 *cho*, the distances given in the two works are about the same. They are exaggerated, however, as in most cases in both works.

⁷²) *Bokuju*, "servants", added from F.

⁷³) Reference to the period when Sorai lived in Kazusa during his father's banishment 1679-1690. Sorai was 13 when the banishment began. Apparently the family did not just sit still during these years, but visited the neighbouring province of Awa; there is also the possibility that they lived in Awa during part of the banishment.

⁷⁴⁾ F. runs close here. There are, however, often changes in vocabulary. For instance, “tumbling over /backwards/” is added in K., while *keu*, “how extraordinary”, is omitted (“How extraordinary, I have never experienced anything like it!” in F.). Such changes are frequent throughout the text. Apparently Shogo was not as experienced in mountaineering as Sorai, as expressed in the last sentence, which can also be translated: “Thus Shogo could know.”

⁷⁵⁾ We must surmise that the clerk walked in the opposite direction after having turned a curve. The saying refers to a basic Taoist concept according to which all existence is circular.

⁷⁶⁾ In F.: There are very many mountain mulberry trees (*sosha*), and all the mountain people make their living by raising silk-worms. If Heaven feeds these people, where will people’s mouths not find food? — Apparently Sorai found the population poor, and pitied them. Whether Sorai knew it or not these mountain people participated in the silk textile industry which flourished in his time in Hachioji. The Kobotoke area was a well-known silk-producing area. See Takahashi, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–159.

⁷⁷⁾ In F. the water flows round the rocks.

⁷⁸⁾ In F. only Shogo leaves the palanquin, skirts the cliff, and reaches the place by the stream where he chants for a long while.

⁷⁹⁾ Reference to the *Lun Yü* (*Yung-yeh* chapter); where it is said (1) “They who know /the truth/ . . . are not equal to those who *delight in it*,” (2) “Those who know find pleasure in water.”

⁸⁰⁾ *Shin’o* or *kami-yuki*, lit., “gods’ walking”, expresses the sublimity of an occasion, as if gods are walking through. The term is freely translated here.

⁸¹⁾ In F.: *kinketsu*, “gold-hole”.

⁸²⁾ This sentence is not found in F. In *maki* 12 of F. the gold spirit and its fury are mentioned.

⁸³⁾ *P’eng*, a gigantic cosmic bird, whose wings stretch across the whole of the firmament and whose flight darkens the sky. Important symbol in Taoism. See Chuang Tzu, the first lines of the first chapter. The bird is not mentioned in F.

⁸⁴⁾ Kanrei, (Han-ling) Sinicization for Hakone; *furigana* gives Hakone in F. In F. a third mountain range, Usui in Kotsuke, is added and rendered the Sinicized name Tairei (Tuei-ling).

⁸⁵⁾ The last four sentences in F.: From the time that Sorai and Shogo left Edo, they have not mentioned their families with one word. Only reaching this summit, they are moved to tears, as they look east, where all is a blur of blue and not a place can be pointed out. They stop the palanquins for a long time, while considering the fact that this range together with Hakone (Kanrei) and Usui (Tairei) ranges are what Heaven has set up as a line of separation between east and west, which cannot but affect human sentiments.

⁸⁶⁾ F. states here simply that the cold was severe at the summit. *Kan* 2 of F. begins at this point.

⁸⁷⁾ *Jin* or *hiro*, “fathom”, a measure of about eight feet (or 1.8 metres).

⁸⁸⁾ F. says “two or three simple homesteads”.

⁸⁹⁾ F. puts it differently, “things which look delicate and graceful, but can yet move about.”

⁹⁰⁾ In F. Shogo says, in a loud voice, what follows.

⁹¹⁾ *Yujun*, Sanskrit *yojana*, an Indian measure of distance which can vary from case to case, but usually refers to a day’s journey. Here tentatively translated as “distance”.

⁹²⁾ *Anmara*, Sanskrit *amra*, “mango”. Prof. Kawamura interprets the term as *enmaraka*, an ornament on Buddha’s head. The quotation may come from the Lankavatara (Ryogon) Sutra.

⁹³⁾ Allusion to poem by Kuo P’o (Kakuhaku) of the Chin Dynasty (265–420) in China. In F. Sorai chants the first line of this poem: “8000 feet down by a blue stream in a deep ravine lives a Taoist recluse.” The Taoist recluse is later in the poem presented as Kuei Ku-tzu (Ki Kokushi), a well-known *sennin* immortal in the Taoist tradition. As for *sennin* immortals, see, for example, Giles, L., *A Gallery of Chinese Immortals*, (London, 1964).

In F. Sorai continues, “I cannot miss this chance! Why should I really be in a palanquin and have people waste their energy pulling and pushing me bend after bend. This is indeed the proper time to use a pair of legs born of woman!” And discarding the palanquin . . .

⁹⁴⁾ In F. Shogo pities the old lady, and gropes for sweets in his bag, which he hands over for her and the child to eat.

⁹⁵⁾ *Sekizui*, lit. “stone marrow”, refers to stalactites, which seem to have been eaten by *sennin* to achieve

longevity. For more on the subject of *sennin* food, see, for example, Ware, J. R., *Alchemy, Medicine, Religion in the China of A.D. 320*. (Cambridge, 1966), especially pp. 177-181.

⁹⁶⁾ Yün-fang *hsien-sheng* (Unbo *sensei*), better known as Chung-li Ch'üan (Sho Riken), famous *sennin* in the Taoist tradition. See Giles, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.

⁹⁷⁾ In F. no laughing is mentioned; they leave reluctantly, and Shogo composes a poem.

⁹⁸⁾ Sorai and his party then followed a stream with the alluring name Bijodanigawa, "River in the Valley of Beauties". It is surprising that Sorai missed a river with such a beautiful name, which could have been the inspiration for much poetry.

⁹⁹⁾ Ohara and Yose were small stations on the *Koshukaido* Road. Perhaps Yose, whose name since 1964 is Sagamiko, was the more important of the two, since he notices that the houses are in good order. Ohara is today insignificant in comparison with Sagamiko, which is a flourishing tourist center.

¹⁰⁰⁾ Travelling through the area in 1974, the translator could locate Kaisawa (Kaizawa) but not Takenohana.

¹⁰¹⁾ The river was Katsuragawa, which in this area is called Sagamigawa. Shosui (Hsiang-shui), the name used in the texts, is a Sinicization for Sagamigawa. *Furigana* in F. says Sagamigawa. Today the river is dammed to the east of Sagamiko, and a beautiful lake (also called Sagamiko) skirts the old *Koshukaido* Road. It is the same river that flows through Saruhashi. See below.

¹⁰²⁾ F. says, "The season is now late autumn, grass and trees look forlorn, and the whereabouts of the cherry flowers is not to be known. Sorai and Shogo look about, communicate (with their eyes), and point out things. As they gaze left and right, there is an old man, harvesting in the fields, who suddenly turns to them and says, "Noble officials, you are mistaken about the province!" They are both taken aback . . .

Is it possible that Sorai and Shogo thought that they had arrived at the Yoshino, which is famous for its cherry flowers, and that the peasant, hearing their conversation, wished to tell them that they were mistaken? Yoshino, famous for its cherry flowers, is located in Nara Prefecture.

¹⁰³⁾ Kosarhashi, "Little Monkey Bridge," resembled Saruhashi Bridge (see below); hence its name. It led across Sawaigawa, a tributary to Katsuragawa. It is today replaced with a modern bridge. Fujino is located slightly to the west of the bridge, and Sekino a couple of kilometers further to the west.

¹⁰⁴⁾ Sakaigawa was the border between Kai and Sagami; it is today the border between Yamanashi and Kanagawa Prefectures. In F. Sorai and Shogo are told that the river is the border between Sagami and Kai. They celebrate their arrival in Kai by writing one poem each.

¹⁰⁵⁾ Suwa Shrine is located about four-five kilometers to the east of Uenohara.

¹⁰⁶⁾ In F. they have lunch (*chuka*) at Uenohara.

¹⁰⁷⁾ Tsurukawa, Notajiri, Yatsubo, Shinden, and Inume are villages that follow each other on today's map. Today's Shinden was perhaps in Sorai's time called Hebiki-shinden. Nagamine slope stretches in reality from Tsurukawa to Notajiri. The fortress, mentioned in this passage, was situated on this slope about two kilometers to the west from Tsurukawa and about one kilometer to the east from Notajiri. Nothing remains of this fortress today, but the spot is marked as an historical place.

¹⁰⁸⁾ *Shinden*, "new fields". From Nara onwards in Japanese history "new field" reclamation projects were undertaken throughout Japan (thus also in Sorai's own time.)

¹⁰⁹⁾ Kisan, one of Takeda Shingen's religious names. Takeda Shingen (1521-1573) is throughout both F. and K. referred to as Kisan or Lord Kisan.

¹¹⁰⁾ Kato, Tango no kami, Nobuatsu. In Takeda Shingen's time he was responsible for the Sagami frontier, and was stationed at this fortress with a considerable military force at his disposal, which is mentioned in F.

¹¹¹⁾ The pond is not to be found today.

¹¹²⁾ The district to the east in Kai. From where Sorai stood, it was to the south. Sorai uses *ken* in K. and *gun* in F. for "district".

¹¹³⁾ In F. a local person points out the fortress ruin and says, "This is the place that Kato, Governor of Tango, guarded". In Kisan's time the Governor of Tango was the military prefect (*chindai*) of the whole province. F. mentions that the place is located high up, and therefore they have such a panoramic view from here.

¹¹⁴⁾ *Fusu*, "to lie down, prostrate". The verb probably refers to the fact that the boughs spread toward the travellers as if showing deference. In F. they see a big pine.

¹¹⁵) The road indeed leads upwards until it reaches a height of about 600 meters in the vicinity of Koizuka. This means, actually, that they ascended higher here than on Mount Kobotoke, where the pass is at about 500 meters above sea-level.

¹¹⁶) *Gotaifu*, noble title in the Ch'in era (221–206 BC) in China. Legend has it that Shih Huang-ti was surprised by a thunder-storm on T'ai-shan and took refuge under an enormous pine. To show his gratitude he enfeoffed the tree and gave it the title *gotaifu*, (*Li chi*, *Shih-huang-pen-chi*). Afterwards the term has been a by-name for a huge pine.

¹¹⁷) Probably allusion to a story in the *Hou-han-shu* about a man who acquired a high rank for a huge amount of money. Through his son he was told that "critical people despised the copper smell of the rank (*ronsha sono doshu wo kirau*)."¹¹⁸ The story is also found in *Meng-ch'iu* (*Mogyu*), a T'ang work by Li Han.

¹¹⁸) Yang-chou (Yoshu), one of the nine provinces, into which Emperor Yü divided ancient China. It was considered the most pleasurable place to live in China.

¹¹⁹) *Yoshu no tsuru*, "Yang-chou crane", is a metaphor for having many desires fulfilled at one and the same time. Legend has it that several men were together and expressed their desires respectively. One wished to become governor of Yang-chou Province. Another wished to obtain much wealth. A third wished to rise high up riding a crane. Then a fourth came up with a composite wish: with a million strings of money tied to his waist he wished to ride a crane to Yang-chou.

¹²⁰) In F. Sorai calls Shogo and asks him, "Which was superior, this /pine/ or the Gotaifu /pine which received a /fief?/" Shogo answers, "This one that could not endure the copper smell". Sorai clinches, "You are wrong! To combine the virtue of purity and loftiness with the reputation of being wealthy can be called a Yang-chou Crane!" And they laugh heartily as they travel on. Sorai composes a poem.

¹²¹) The village lass is not mentioned in F. This village high up in the hills is today still called Koizuka. The road down to Torisawa is indeed tortuous and winding. Torisawa is in turn located slightly to the east of Saruhashi on Katsura/gawa/ River.

¹²²) Saruhashi can also be read in Sino-Japanese as Enkyo. Perhaps this was the way it was read in Sorai's time. According to local people (1974) this was the pronunciation in Meiji. Today the usual pronunciation is Saruhashi. Basil Hall Chamberlain said about the bridge: "The place derives its appellation from the bridge having formerly been a mere crazy plank, such as monkeys alone might be supposed likely to venture across. The present bridge (1913) is of the cantilever sort, having the ends of the horizontal beams planted deep in the soil that covers the rock." Basil Hall Chamberlain and W. B. Mason, *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan*, (London, 1913), p. 274. Apparently the bridge had not changed much from Sorai's time to Chamberlain's time. Today's bridge is more recently constructed but supposedly a true copy of the original bridge. It is not open to traffic and is mainly a tourist attraction.

¹²³) Much legend surrounds Saruhashi Bridge, and even today one cannot but be touched by its mystique. The legends most often tell how monkeys played a role in the original construction of the bridge. One version has it that a monkey king made use of vine runners as he jumped and climbed from the cliff on one side of the river to the cliff on the other side. A wise man saw this, and got the idea of building a cantilever bridge across the ravine. Other versions, told by local people today, are that monkeys formed chains and bridged the ravine or that they skirted tree-tops from shore to shore, giving the wise man the idea of constructing the bridge. The version given in this text, that the bridge was built by the Monkey King in person, is not met with otherwise in the literature. Another tradition has it that it was a Korean, Yu Haku-rai (also named Shikimaro), a famous bridge-builder in Empress Suiko's time (592–628), who built the original bridge. See Kawamura Yoshimasa, "*Furyushishaki*" *ni mieru koji. setsuwa-ko*, in *Kokubungaku ronko* (Tokyo, March 1975), p. 1.

¹²⁴) The length of the bridge is today 31 metres, which fits the measure given in the text. The ravine is not as deep as is stated; it is actually 31 metres from the bridge to the surface of the water. There is no figure available for the depth of the water, but it is probably not as deep as is stated in the text. The bridge is today 5 metres wide.

¹²⁵) F. is here not as elaborate as K. The bridge is, for example, not described in F. Saruhashi is, however, more treated on the return journey (F. *kan* 20), when Sorai explains the Five Wonders of Saruhashi. F. adds here that "the sound of the water was terrifying".

¹²⁶) It must be concluded that Sorai's description does full justice to this pearl among bridges. It need only be added that the timbers jutting out on top of each other are in each case four in number, and that they come in

three layers on each side. On top of these layers rest the three beams, which stretch across, and on which, in turn, the bridge rests.

¹²⁷⁾ There is indeed a "cauldron" in the cliff on the north side, which can be seen from the bridge. According to Professor Kawamura it is about two metres in diameter and 12 *shaku* deep. In F., *kan* 20, the "cauldron" is called a "hole", which term more adequately describes the place.

¹²⁸⁾ It is reported that when Mount Fuji erupted in 800 (or 864), lava reached the Saruhashi area and formed the plagiophyre plateau, through which Katsuragawa flows like through a canal and on which the city of Saruhashi is located on both sides of the river. Then the last story is not so surprising as it at first seems. This means, however, that the original bridge cannot have been constructed in Empress Suiko's time.

¹²⁹⁾ In F. it is the inn-keeper who tells them the "strange tales". It is the servants who all put out their tongues, showing disbelief, apparently not Sorai and Shogo (nor the clerks). Sorai and Shogo finish the day by writing three poems, of which Shogo writes two.

TWO RECENT STUDIES ON THE GONGYANG COMMENTARY

by

GÖRAN MALMQVIST

Two studies on the *Gongyang Commentary* have appeared in recent years. One of these, *Chuenchiou Gongyang juann shiutzyh chyuanshyh* (Explanations of the grammatical particles in the *Gongyang Commentary* on the *Chuenchiou*), by Shieh Der-san, apparently results from a private research initiative.¹⁾ The other work, *Chuenchiou Gongyang juann jinjuh jinyih* (The *Gongyang Commentary* on the *Chuenchiou*, with a modern annotation and a translation into modern Chinese), attributed to Lii Tzong-donq, forms part of a series of annotated translations of classical works into modern Chinese.²⁾

Shieh Der-san's study includes discussions of 125 forms, many of which are grammatical particles and which are found in the *Gongyang* text. The forms are arranged according to the sequence of the *Gwoin tzyhmuu* and no attempt has been made at a systematic treatment of forms which belong to the same function class. The author states that he uses the same grammatical terminology as that employed by Sheu Shyh-ing, in his *Jonggwo wenfaa jeanghuah*.

In his preface the author declares that earlier generations of *Gongyang* scholars mainly have devoted their efforts towards explaining and discussing the dogma of the *Chuenchiou* and the historical realities which underlie the text, while they have neglected to explain the functions of grammatical particles, "considering that these functions would be well known to everyone". (Preface, p. 1). The author further stresses the usefulness of the compendia of grammatical particles which have been compiled by scholars such as Liou Chyi (*Juhtzyh biann liueh*), Wang Yiin-jy (*Jingjuann shyh tsyr*), Yu Yueh (*Guushu yiyih jeu lih*), Liou Shy-peir (*Guushu yiyih jeu lih buu*), Yang Shuh-dar (*Tsyrchyuan*), Peir Shyue-hae (*Guushu shiutzyh jyishyh*), and others.

A careful study of Shieh Der-san's work has persuaded me of the validity of Master Menq's famous dictum: "If you put all your faith in the Documents you would be better off without them!"³⁾

¹⁾ Shieh Der-san, *Chuenchiou Gongyang juann shiutzyh chyuanshyh*, *Chiishenq twushu gongsy*, Gaushyong, 1973 (1) (Numbers within parentheses refer to Chinese characters added at the end of this paper).

²⁾ Lii Tzong-donq, *Chuenchiou Gongyang juann jinjuh jinyih*, *Shangwuh yinnshugoan*, Tairbee 1973. (2)

³⁾ *Jinn shinn Shu*, *tzer buh ru wu Shu* (Menqtzyy, *Jinn shin*, *shiah*). (3)

In his zealous reliance on various compendia of grammatical particles the author utterly disregards the context of the *Gongyang* itself. The many grammatical idiosyncracies of the text can only be explained and resolved within the overall framework of the *Gongyang* text. Reliance on compendia which list and attempt to describe the functions of forms which have been detached from their contexts in a great variety of stylistically and grammatically widely varying texts tends to obscure, rather than clarify, the functions of these forms in a given and grammatically cohesive text.

Many outstanding scholars, such as Her Shiou (129–182), Shyu Yann, Huey Donq (1697–1758), Koong Goang-sen (1752–1786), Ling Shuh (1775–1829) and Chern Lih (1809–1869), have devoted themselves to penetrating studies of the *Gongyang*. A modern student of the *Gongyang* cannot afford to ignore, in the way that Shieh Der-san has done, the great contributions to scholarship which these scholars have made. Nor should he ignore the imposing results of meticulous modern scholarship, such as the *Combined Concordances to Ch'un-Ch'iu, Kung-yang, Ku-liang and Tsochuan* (Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement No. 11, 4 vols.).

In the following I shall have occasion to criticize a great many grave errors in Shieh Der-san's work. Most of these errors could have been avoided, had the author taken pains to utilize the works of earlier generations of *Gongyang* scholars and the research tools which modern scholarship has placed at our disposal.

A more careful proof-reading should have eliminated the great many misprints and wrong characters which mar the work. The following list is not exhaustive:

P. 10 Juang 32.3 *Fwu her gaan? Shyh jiang wei (koong=) luann hwu?* (4) "What would he dare to do? Will he start a rebellion?"

P. 25 Juang 23.1 *Gong yih Chern (wey=) Tuo yee.* (5) "The duke copied the behaviour of Tuo of Chern."

P. 26 Hwan 2.5 *Ran tzer wei (chyi=) cheu kee yii wei chyi yeou hwu?* (6) "If so, may then the [mere act of] taking possession [of the land] be regarded as [equivalent to the establishment of full] ownership [of the land]?"

P. 35 Juang 32.3 *Chinq (wen=)-fuu yee tswen.* (7) "Chinq-fuu is here."

P. 51 Yiin 1.1 *Chiee ru Hwan (gong=) lih,* (8) "Supposing that Hwan were established as ruler."

P. 53 Hwan 2.2 *Shang gong jy Koong (wen=)-fuu syy jii bih syy.* (9) "Duke Shang knew that once Koong-fuu were dead he himself would have to die."

P. 54 Shi 31.3 *Shan chuan yeou neng ruenn yu bor lii jee. Tian-tzyy (iang=) jyherl jih jy.* (10) "Of the mountains and streams there are those which may moisten an area of one hundred *lii*. The Son of Heaven successively offers sacrifices to them."

P. 55 *Shiuan* 12.3 *Linq jy hwan shy erl* (x=) *yih Jinn kow*. (11) “[He ordered them to have the army withdraw and thus] let the intruders from Jinn escape.”

P. 62 *Yiin* 1.2 *Yi* (wen=)-*fuu jee her?* (12) “Who was this Yi-fuu?”

P. 79 *Jau* 12.1 *Tzay tseh jee iue: tzyy* (shyun=) *gow jy jy, heryii buh ger?* (13) “Someone present said: ‘If you were aware of this, why did you not correct it?’”

P. 81 *Ai* 7.4 *Yii* (shye=) *Juliuh tzyy Yih lai*. (14) “[He] returned with Yih, the viscount of Juliuh.”

P. 81 *Hwan* 2.5 *Ruoh Chuu wang jy chi wey*. (15) “[This is] like the king of Chuu marrying his younger sister.” Shieh Der-san has *Ruoh shy y Chuu wang jy chi wey*. (16)

P. 82 *Shiang* 7.9 *Jong gwo buh* (shyh=) *tzwu guei yee*. (17) “The central states do not merit our allying ourselves with them.”

P. 103 *Juang* 3.5 *Tsyh yuh jiow Jih erl how buh neng* (ta=) *yee*. (18) [The *Chuenchiou*] castigates [the duke] for his inability to realize his intention of going to the rescue of Jih.”

P. 105 *Jau* 12.1 (Her Shiou’s commentary) *You iue* (Chyn=) *nay ruu suoo buh jy her?* (19) “This is the same as saying: ‘What about that which you do not know?’”

P. 127 *Dinq* 8.16 *Lin-nan iue: yeou lih buh* (shyh=) *tzwu*. (20) “Lin-nan said: ‘Even though the strength which I possess is insufficient’”.

P. 143 *Ai* 4.1 (Tzeir=) *Jiann hwu jiann jee shwu wey?* (21) “To whom does the expression ‘more mean than the mean’ refer?”

P. 145 *Shi* 1.10 *Bean bih iu* (chwei=) *jonq jee*. (22) “The blame must be applied to the heavier crime.”

P. 149 *Jau* 25.7 *Koong-tzyy iue: chyi lii yeu chyi tsyr* (shyh=) *tzwu guan yii*. (23) “Master Koong said: ‘Their rites and their words were indeed worth witnessing!’”

P. 150 *Jau* 20.2 *Tzer wey jy* (fen=) *gong-tzyy Shii-shyr tsornq yu?* (24) “But it was not known whether prince Shii-shyr should follow him.”

P. 154 *Wen* 2.5 *Tsyy bwu* (leang=) *yuh jy ryh charng erl wu tzai* (25) “In this instance it had not rained for a great many days and yet there was no calamity.”

A number of characters have been inadvertently omitted in Shieh Der-san’s quotations from the *Gongyang* text. Some examples are given below:

P. 84 *Yiin* 1.1 *Chiee ru Hwan lih tzer koong ju dahfu jy buh neng shianq yow jiun yee*. (26) “And furthermore, supposing that Hwan were established as ruler, it might be feared lest the great officers would be unable to assist so young a ruler.” (Shieh Der-san omits the character *jy*.)

P. 84 *Yiin 3.7 Chiee shyy erl kee jwu, tzer shian jiun chyi jwu chern yii.* (27) "If sons may indeed be expelled, then the late lord would have expelled me." (Shieh Der-san omits the character *shian*.)

P. 99 *Shi 10.3 Jiun sha jenq erl lih bwu jenq.* (28) "The [late] ruler killed the rightful heir and appointed someone who did not have the right of succession in his stead." (Shieh Der-san omits the character *lih*.)

P. 122 *Ai 6.8 Wu bwu lih tzyy jee, suooyii sheng tzyy jee yee.* (29) "In not supporting your succession, I am in fact safeguarding your life!" (Shieh Der-san omits the second *tzyy*.)

In some instances superfluous characters have been added to Shieh Der-san's quotations from the *Gongyang* text:

P. 140 *Juang 18.2 Tsyy wey yeou fa jong gwo jee,* (30) "Since no one had as yet attacked the central states," (Shieh Der-san adds *jee* after *fa*.)

P. 150 *Hwan 9.4 Tzer wey jy chyi tzay Chyi yu tzay Tsaur yu?* (31) "But it is not known whether this [criticism] applies to [the heir of the marquis of] Chyi or to [the heir of the earl of] Tsaur?" (Shieh Der-san has *Tzer wey jy chyi wei tzay Chyi yu tzay Tsaur yu?*)

The author's frequent failures to punctuate the text correctly signal a lack of understanding of the syntactic features of the *Gongyang*.

P. 11 *Jau 31.6 Iue: Shi! Tsyy cherng eel gwo yee fwu! Chii erl jyh gwo yu Shiah-fuu.* (32) "[He] said: 'Oh, this is indeed your state!' [And so he] rose and handed over the state to Shiah-fuu." (Shieh Der-san punctuates as follows: *Tsyy cherng eel gwo yee. Fwu chii . . .*)

P. 11 *Shi 26.2 Chyi ren chin woo shi bih.* (33) "Men of Chyi invaded our outlying districts in the west." (Shieh Der-san places a comma after *woo*.)

P. 12 *Yiin 3.7 Dang shyr erl ryh, wei buh der tzanq yee.* (34) "When a burial took place at the stipulated time the indication of the day signals that the performance of the burial had been endangered." (Shieh Der-san places a comma after *wei*.)

P. 15 *Juang 4.7 Chyan tsyy jee yeou shyh yii, how tsyy jee yeou shyh yii, tzer herwey dwu iu tsyy yan ji?* (35) "Since both before and after this occasion there were matters [which involved contacts between the duke and the marquis of Chyi], why is criticism expressed only here?" (Shieh Der-san omits the final verb *ji*, 'to criticize'. The same mistake is made on p. 131. On pages 22 and 65 the verb *ji* has been added at the beginning of the sentence which immediately follows the one discussed above and which should read *Iu chour jee jiang yih ji erl yii.* (36) "In the case of feuds criticism is expressed only once.")

P. 22 *Hwan 8.6 Shyy woo wei mei. Kee, tzer in yonq shyh wanq nih yii.* (37)

“[The Son of Heaven had instructed him] to make the state of Luu serve as go-between. If this could be managed, he were subsequently and in accordance [with our mediation] to go forward and meet [the bride in Jih].” (Shieh Der-san punctuates as follows: *Shyy woo wei mei kee, tzer . . .*)

P. 41 *Yiin 8.2 Tian-tzyy yeou shyh yu Tayshan, juhour jie tsornng. Tayshan jy shiah juhour jie yeou tangmuh jy yih yan.* (38) “When the Son of Heaven performed the sacrifice on Mount Tay, the feudal lords all accompanied [him there]. All the feudal lords had rest-cities below Mount Tay.” (Shieh Der-san reads: . . ., *juhour jie tsornng Tayshan jy shiah*. The same mistake is made on pages 126, 129 and 144.)

P. 42 *Juang 7.3 Liehshing bwu jiann, heryii jy yeh jy jong? Shing faan yee.* (39) “If the fixed stars were not visible, how was it known that it was midnight? The stars [finally] reappeared.” (Shieh Der-san punctuates as follows: *Liehshing bwu jiann, heryii jy yeh jy jong shing? Faan yee.*)

P. 42 *Shi 10.5 Hwan gong jy sheang gwo yee charng. Meei shiann hwu tianshiah. Guh bwu wey jy huey been eh yee.* (40) “Duke Hwan enjoyed [the position of ruler of] his state for a long period. His excellent virtues were well known in the realm. Therefore [the *Chuenchiou*] does not for his sake conceal his original wrongdoings.” (Shieh Der-san omits the last four characters and places a full stop after *Guh bwu wey jy.*)

P. 43 *Hwan 16.5 Jiann shyy shoou Wei, Shuoh erl buh neng shyy Wei sheau jonq.* (41) “Though he was charged with the protection of Wei, Shuoh [, the marquis of Wei,] was not even capable of employing a small body of men in his own state.” (Shieh Der-san punctuates as follows: *Jiann shyy shoou Wei shuoh, erl buh neng shyy Wei sheau jonq*, a punctuation which is also followed in the *Harvard-Yenching Index* text. Her Shiou, and the great majority of *Gongyang* scholars after him, comment on this passage in a way which tallies with Shieh Der-san’s punctuation. With this punctuation *shuoh* must be interpreted as referring to the ceremony of the promulgation of administrative measures at the beginning of each month. The expression *shoou shuoh* is not found elsewhere in the *Gongyang* which consistently employs the expression *shyh shuoh* (42) in this sense. The traditional interpretation of Her Shiou and others tallies badly with the context. My punctuation, in which *Shuoh* is treated as the name of the marquis of Wei, is also suggested by Jin Chyi-yuan, in his *Dwu shu goan jiann* (43), (Shanghai Commercial Press, 1957, pp. 265–66).

P. 90 *Yiin 1.2 Tsyy chyi wei kee bau nay her? Jiann jinn yee.* (44) “Under what circumstances may he here be represented as worthy of praise? (He) gradually advanced.” (Shieh Der-san punctuates in the following way: *Tsyy chyi wei kee bau, nay her jiann jinn yee.*)

P. 97 *Juang 32.3 Er-erl Ya shyh shieh cherng.* (45) “In a short while Ya’s

preparations for the assassination had been completed.” (Shieh Der-san: *Er-erl Ya shyh, shieh cherng.*)

P. 130 *Juang* 4.7 *Chour jee wu shyr yan kee yeu tong.* (46) “At no time may one communicate with a feud enemy.” (Shieh Der-san, who places a comma after *shyr*, elsewhere (p. 130) argues that *yan* equals the interrogative form *ian*. It should be added that the resumptive function of *yan*, as illustrated by this example, is very common in the *Gongyang*.)

P. 138 *Shiang* 1.2 *Yu-shyr jy tzuey nay her? Yii ruh shyh wei tzuey yee.* (47) “What were the circumstances underlying Yu-shyr’s crime? [The *Chuenchiou*] considers it a crime that he forced an entry into this [town of Perng].” (Shieh Der-san’s punctuation — *Yu-shyr jy tzuey nay her yii ruh? Shyh wei tzuey yee.* — reveals an utter lack of appreciation of the grammatical structure of the *Gongyang* text.)

P. 143 *Shi* 21.6 *Sonq-gong wey gong-tzyy Muh-yi iue: Tzyy guei shoou gwo yii.* (48) “The duke of Sonq spoke to prince Muh-yi, saying: ‘Return and guard the state!’” (Shieh Der-san quotes this passage as follows: *Sonq-gong wey gong-tzyy Muh-yi iue: Tzyy guei tzyy jy gwo yii!*)

Some of Shieh Der-san’s mistakes reveal that he lacks knowledge of the historical realities underlying the text:

P. 12 *Shi* 28.5 *Tzyy-yuh Der-chern, tzer chyi cheng ren her?* (49) “Since it was Tzyy-yuh Der-chern, why, then, is he referred to as a [common] man?” (Shieh Der-san uses this example to illustrate the function of the verb *der*, ‘to obtain’!)

P. 96 *Cherng* 15.2 *Wen-gong syy, tzyy yow. Gong-tzyy Suey wey Shwu-jonq Huey-bor iue* (50) “When duke Wen died, [his] son was yet young. Prince Suey spoke to Shwu-jonq Huey-bor, saying:” (Shieh Der-san, who fails to appreciate that *Suey* is a name, treats the expression as a connective particle, ‘thereupon’.

The grammatical analyses provided by the author contain a great many grave errors. The following selection of examples is representative:

P. 6 Shieh Der-san argues that the pronominal form *moh*, ‘no one’, serves as a synonym for the negative adverb *buh*, ‘not’. His three examples are the following:

Hwan 2.2 *Koong-fuu jenq seh erl lih iu chaur, tzer ren moh gaan guoh erl jyh nann iu chyi jiun jee.* (51) “When Koong-fuu adjusted his appearance and took up his position in court, no one dared to commit any fault or cause distress to his lord.”

Shi 2.4 *Dah gwo yan Chyi Sonq, yeuan gwo yan Jiang Hwang, tzer yii chyi yu wei moh gaan bwu jyh yee.* (52) “Since Chyi and Sonq are mentioned among the great states, and Jiang and Hwang among the distant states, it must be assumed that of the rulers of the other states none dared not to come.”

Ai 13.3 Wu tzay shyh, tzer tianshiah juhohr moh gaan bwu jyh yee. (53) “Since [the ruler of] Wu was there none of the feudal lords in the realm dared not to come.”

The function of *moh* which these examples illustrate should be appreciated by a first-year student of classical Chinese!

P. 48 *Yiin 4.7 Jonq suei yuh lih jy, chyi lih jy fei yee.* (54) “Even though the multitude wanted to set him up [as feudal lord], their doing so was not correct.” Shieh Der-san, who is aware of the exceedingly common function of *chyih* as a substitute for *Noun+jy* in included predications, argues that *chyih* here equals *keeshyh*, ‘but’! On the following page (p. 49) *chyih*, in the same function as in the example discussed immediately above, is said to equal *hwu* (55). Shieh Der-san’s example is the following:

Juang 10.6 Herwey buh yan chyi huoh? (56) “Why does [the *Chuenchiou*] not state that he was captured?”

P. 57 *Shiuan 15.2 Wu jiann tzyy jy jiun-tzyy yee.* (57) “I see that you are a gentleman.” This is a very rare and highly interesting construction, through which a nominal predication (*Tzyy jiun-tzyy yee!* “You, Sir, are a gentleman!”) serves as an included predication, as object of the verb *jiann*, and therefore has been marked by the subordinating particle *jy*. Shieh Der-san argues that *jy* here functions as a copula! On the same page the author discusses the passage *Wen 15.7 Jyh jy ryh yee.* (58) “It was the day of [their] arrival.” Shieh Der-san suggests that the attributive marker *jy* here functions as a demonstrative.

On page 58 the author shows that he is aware of the function of *jy* in included predications functioning as objects, subjects, etc. In one of his examples the function of *jy* is not that indicated:

Juang 1.3 Wu dahfu jy minq hwu tian-tzyy jee yee. (59) “[He] was one of our great officers who had been invested by the Son of Heaven.”

P. 59 *Ai 6.8 Yeu jy yuh jye erl tzoou jy.* (60) “[He] gave him a jade token and sent him off in a hurry.” Shieh Der-san, who fails to recognize the causative function of the verb *tzoou*, ‘to run’, argues that *jy* here is a meaningless sentence suffix! Shieh Der-san often shows great carelessness in handling his descriptive labels: on page 74 the verb *ran*, ‘to be so’, is treated as an adjective, and on page 89 the transitive verb *tzay*, ‘to be in, at, on’, is defined as a preposition.

P. 109 *Yiin 5.5 Yi shianq chuu hwu ney.* (61) “One Chief Minister [of the Son of Heaven] was positioned in the Interior.” (Shieh Der-san suggests that *yi*, ‘one’, here modifies *chuu* (= *chuh*), ‘place’, and that the resultant expression equals modern *yih torng*, ‘together’!

P. 144 *Jau 19.5 Tzeir wey tao, heryii shu tzanq? Buh cherng yu shyh yee.* (62) “Since the assassin has not yet been punished, why does [the *Chuenchiou*]

record the burial [of the late lord]? It did not amount to a [real] assassination.” (Shieh Der-san here treats the form *yu* as a copula!

P. 147 *Shiang* 27.4 *Ruoh fwu iue yan wei shinn, tzer fei chernpwu shuhniah jy suo gaan yuh yee.* (63) “But to confirm agreements and act as guarantor, those are duties in which simple servants and sons of concubines do not presume to participate.” (Shieh Der-san suggests that *yuh*, ‘to participate in’, should be read *yeu* (*shanqsheng*), in the sense of ‘to perform’.

P. 156 *Dinq* 4.14 *Shuh nian ranhow guei jy. Iu chyi guei yan yonq shyh hwu her.* (64) “[He] did not allow him to return until after several years. When he returned he sacrificed to [the spirit of] the River.” (Shieh Der-san suggests that *yonq* here means *in* (65), ‘in consequence of’.

The projected series of annotated translations of classical works into modern Chinese, of which Lii Tzong-dong’s work *Chuenchiou Gongyang juann jinjuh jinyih* forms one part, results from joint efforts by the Committee for the Promotion of the Renaissance of Chinese Culture (*Jonghwa wenhuah fuhshing yunndonq tueishyng woeiyuanhuey* (66)), the Editorial Board of the *Jonghwa tsongshu*, National Institute of Translation (*Gwoliu bianyihgoan Jonghwa tsongshu biansheen woeiyuanhuey* (67)) and the Taiwan Commercial Press.

According to a preface included in the volume under review, the projected series comprises altogether 30 works, namely *Shanqshu*, *Shyjing*, *Jouyih*, *Joulii*, *Lijih*, *Chuenchiou Tzuooshyh juann*, *Dahshyue*, *Jongiong*, *Luenyeu*, *Menqtzyy*, *Laotzyy*, *Juangtzyy*, *Dah Day Lijih*, *Gongyang juann*, *Guuliang juann*, *Harnshy wayjuann*, *Shiawjing*, *Gwoyeu*, *Janngwo tseh*, *Liehneu juann*, *Shinshiu*, *Shuoyuann*, *Mohtzyy*, *Shyuntzyy*, *Harn Feitzyy*, *Goantzyy*, *Hwainantzyy*, *Suentzyy*, *Luenn herng* and the *Shuo wen jiee tzyh*.

There is indeed a great need for a series of this kind, through which ancient texts may be made accessible to other than a fairly limited number of scholars. The translator should aim at providing a correct and readable modern version and at the same time make an attempt at mirroring the diction of the original text. It is of paramount importance that these translation tasks be undertaken by scholars who combine classical scholarship with an excellent command of the modern written idiom.

While the projected series of translations is mainly intended for the general reader the commentator *cum* translator must account for the various philological considerations which underlie his translation. In order to fulfill his task satisfactorily the translator must allow his readers to share his deliberations over important questions relating to textual criticism and to interpretations which have been brought forth by earlier commentators. The imposing results which have been achieved in the field of classical Chinese scholarship by a host of brilliant and devoted research workers constitute an important part of the cultural heritage of China. By ignoring the works of earlier scholars a modern

commentator and translator lays himself open to the charge of disrespecting the very cultural heritage which he professes to promote.

From these points of view the work under review is utterly disappointing. The preface, which in my opinion should have attempted to define the role of the *Gongyang* within the context of China's intellectual history, is wholly irrelevant. The notes, like the translation itself, are marred by poor style and at times deficient syntax, and rarely contain any information beyond that provided by the translation. Indeed, the notes are very often at variance with the translation and give the impression of having been hastily dictated to an assistant.

In his notes the author occasionally refers to earlier scholars who have contributed to our understanding of the *Gongyang*. The great Hann scholar Her Shiou (68) is repeatedly referred to as Her Shiou (69)! It is quite clear that the author has failed to read Her Shiou's commentary carefully. Many of his errors could have been avoided, had he taken pains to do so.

It is my confirmed opinion that the editors responsible for this series of translations have committed a great disservice to scholarship by allowing this work to be published. Were all the works in the series of the same low standard as this translation of the *Gongyang*, its publication would amount to a national disaster. Fortunately this is not the case. While only a few works in this series are available to me at the time of writing, Chern Guu-ing's *Juangtzyy jinjuh jinyih* (70), which appeared in 1975 and which seems to be the result of honest and meticulous research, has persuaded me that the project has not been entirely in vain.

In the following I shall discuss some of the many errors in this work, in the order in which they appear in the text.

P. 4 *Yiin 1.3 Jii sha jy. Ru wuh yeu erl yii yii.* (71) "He himself (i.e. the earl of Jenq) killed him. It would have been better if he had not been given [the city of Jing]." Lii punctuates wrongly. His translation, however, is correct.

P. 26 *Yiin 7.2* The author has completely misunderstood the passage *Uei gwo tzer chyi cheng hour her? Buh shyan yee. Chuenchiou guey jiann buh shyan, torng haw. Meei eh buh shyan, torng tsyr.* (72) Lii's modern translation reads as follows: *Dannshyh weyshemme yee cheng ta hour ne? Inwey dueyyu chenghu meiyeeou fenbye. Chuenchiou de shyrdai, guey jiun torng jiann jiun, bwu pah torng yige chenghaw, haoren torng huayren yee buh shyan yonq torng yige wentsyr.* (73) "But why is he also referred to as 'marquis'? Because no distinction was made with regard to appellations. In the Chuenchiou period one did not shrink from using the same appellation for rulers of both higher and lower status, nor did one object to using the same term for both good and evil men." The comments on this passage by Her Shiou, Shyu Yann, Koong Goang-sen, Liaw Pyng, and others, make it perfectly clear that *shyan* must be treated as the predicate of a subordinated clause, with the sense of 'to be so deceptively similar

as to give rise to uncertainty with regard to the correct identification'. The entry *Yiin* 7.2 must therefore be interpreted as follows: *Chuenchiou*: "The marquis of Terng died." *Gongyang*: "Why is he not referred to by his personal name? Terng was a small state. Since it was a small state, why does [the *Chuenchiou*] refer to [its ruler as] 'marquis'? There was no deceptive resemblance. When there is no deceptive resemblance [giving rise to uncertainty as to the correct identification] of higher and lower status, the *Chuenchiou* uses the same appellation [in both cases]. When there is no deceptive resemblance between the good and the evil, the *Chuenchiou* uses the same term [in both cases]." For a detailed discussion of this and other passages containing *shyan* see N. G. D. Malmqvist, "On the meaning of the morpheme *shyan* in pre-Han and Han texts", *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, 39:2 (1969), 347-368.

P. 43 *Hwan* 2.4 *Ney dah eh huey. Tsyy chyi muh yan jy her?* (74) "With regard to the Interior great evils are not mentioned. Why does [the *Chuenchiou*] refer to it explicitly here?" Lii translates as follows: *Neylii dah huayshyh jiw bihhuey, jeh weyshemme kannjiann jiw jihtzay?* (75) "With regard to the Interior avoidance is made of great evils. Why is it here written down just as it was observed?" It seems that Lii Tzong-donq has misunderstood Her Shiou's gloss which reads as follows: *Muh, shiann yee; chyh shiann chyi eh.* (76) "*Muh* means 'to reveal'; [the *Chuenchiou*] explicitly reveals his evil."

P. 51 *Hwan* 5.1 *Herwey yii ell ryh tzuw jy? Shiuh yee.* (77) "Why was his death recorded on two [alternative] days? [He] became mad." Lii punctuates wrongly.

P. 51 *Hwan* 5.1 *Jii-chour jy ryh syy erl der.* (78) "On the day *jii-chour* he was found dead." Lii translates as follows: *Jii-chour jy ryh tsair wanchyuan syy.* (79) "It was not until the day *jii-chour* that he died altogether." (!)

P. 52 *Hwan* 5.2 *Way shiang ru buh shu. Tsyy heryii shu? Li buh yan huey.* (80) "Mutual visits of [feudal lords of] the Exterior were not [normally] recorded. Why was this entry made? Meetings between only two [feudal lords] are not referred to by the term *huey* ('to meet')." The final clause of this passage is translated as follows: *Inwey Jihgwo meiyiou tsanjia hueymeng.* (81) "Because [the ruler of] the state of Jih did not participate in the meeting and the covenant." In his comment on *Hwan* 2.8 Her Shiou clearly defines the meaning of the term *li*: *Ell gwo huey iue li.* (82) "A meeting between [the rulers of only] two states is referred to as *li*."

P. 56 *Hwan* 6.5 *Chyi ju yii binq Hwan yu?* (83) "Could this possibly be meant as a embarrassment to [duke] Hwan?" Lii translates as follows: *Jeh jiw keeyii tzuoh Hwangong de maubinq.* "This may actually constitute a flaw in duke Hwan's character." (?)

P. 57 *Hwan* 7.1 *Chyau jy yee.* (84) Her Shiou's comment on this passage reads as follows, in my translation: *Chyau* means 'fire-wood'. He burnt it with fire-wood. Therefore, by an extension of meaning the expression *chyau* has

come to mean 'to burn with the aid of fire-wood'. It is an expression used among the people of Chyi." (85) Lii's note on this passage reads as follows: *Baa ta bianncherng muhtsair*. (86) "[He] turned it into timber." Lii's translation reads as follows: *Baa ta bianntzuoh muhtann*. (87) "[He] turned it into charcoal."

Ibid. *Jiun tswen yan eel*. (88) "The ruler [of Juliuh] resided there." Lii's note on this passage reads: *Tade jiun rhengjiow tswentzay*. (89) "Its ruler was still in existence." His somewhat awkward translation of the same passage, however, is correct: *Inwey Juliuh de jiun tswentzay tzay Shyanchiou*. (90) "Because the ruler of Juliuh existed in the city of Shyanchiou."

P. 58 *Hwan 7.2 Guey jee wu how, day jy yii chu yee*. (91) Lii Tzong-donq's translation, which may be based on the interpretation of Yu Yueh, as found in his *Chyunjing pyng yih*, reads as follows: *Gueyjonq de ren sueishyh meiyeou howren, yee ingdang na tzuetchu de jyuewey lai dueyday ta*. (92) "Even though they have no descendants, noble and important persons must be accorded the rank which they held at the beginning [of our contacts with them]." This interpretation must be rejected. I suggest the following rendering: "With men of noble rank [the *Chuenchiou*] does not take later developments into account, but treats them in accordance with their original [rank and nobility]."

I have already mentioned that Lii Tzong-donq's notes sometimes are at variance with his translation. A case in point is found on page 60:

Hwan 8.6 Shyy woo wei mei. Kee, tzer in yonq shyh wanq nih yii. (93) [The Son of Heaven had instructed him] to make the state of Luu serve as go-between. If this could be managed he were subsequently and in accordance [with our mediation] to go forward and meet [the bride in Jih]." Lii's note on this passage reads as follows: *Jiaw woo tzuoh meiren, jiow keeyii yonq meiren chiuh yngjie*. (94) "Since [the Son of Heaven] had instructed us to serve as go-between, it would then be possible to use the go-between to meet the bride." Lii's translation, however, tallies with my own.

P. 61 *Hwan 9.1 Properly punctuated part of this entry reads as follows: Tzyh woo yan Jih. Fuh muu jy iu tzyy, suei wei tian-wang how, you iue wu Jih Jiang*. (95) "[The term of address appropriate to the state of] Jih was here employed by us. The relation between parents and their child [is such that] even when she became the Queen of the King by Heavenly Grace they still referred to her as 'our Jih Jiang.'" Lii Tzong-donq, who punctuates as follows: *Tzyh woo yan, Jih fuh muu . . .*, provides the following mistaken translation: *Tsornng woo lai shuo, Jihgwo de fuhmuu . . .* (96) "From our point of view, the parents of the state of Jih . . ."

P. 63 *Hwan 10.3 Gong bwu jiann iau yee*. (97) "The duke was not invited [to the meeting]." Lii translates as follows: *Inwey Luu Hwangong buh sheang tornng Weihour jiannmiann*. (98) "This was because duke Hwan of Luu did not feel like meeting the marquis of Wei."

P. 65 *Hwan* 11.4 *Chyuan jy suoo sheh, shee syy wang wu suoo sheh.* (99) “As for the application of the process of weighing and evaluating circumstances it may not be applied in cases other than those where the life [of one’s ruler] or the preservation [of one’s state] are at stake.” The note on this passage shows that the author has correctly understood its purport. Lii Tzong-donq’s translation, however, is grossly erroneous: *Chyuan shyh yeou suoo shehshy de, syywang shyh meiyeeou suoo shehshy de.* (100) “While there are rules governing the application of *chyuan*, there are no rules governing the application of death and destruction.” I find it very hard to believe that the note and the translation have been worded by one and the same person.

P. 78 *Hwan* 15.9 *Moh yan eel.* (101) This enigmatic expression has been variously interpreted by earlier commentators. Her Shiou paraphrases: “This would have been a shallow statement.” Koong Goang-sen suggests that it means: “There was no need for stating this.” Chern Lih interprets the expression as “It was not worthy of comment.” Whatever the meaning of the expression may be, it must apply to all occurrences. Lii Tzong-donq in this entry (*Hwan* 15.9) translates it as *Meiyeou huah kee shuo* (102) “There was nothing to be said.” In *Shi* 3.5 the expression *Herwey moh yan eel?* (103) is translated as *Weyshemme buh shuo mengshy ne?* (104) “Why does [the *Chuenchiou*] not mention the covenant and the oath?” In *Cherng* 16.7 the same expression is translated as *Bwu bih yaw shuo.* (105) “That goes without saying.”

P. 80 *Hwan* 16.5 *Juu fuh tzy, sheh, buh jyi tzuey eel.* (106) “(He) claimed illness, stayed [where he was] and did not submit to punishment for his crime.” Lii Tzong-donq, who reads *shee* for *sheh*, translates as follows: *Tian-tzyy buh geei ta jia tzuey.* (107) “The Son of Heaven did not punish him for his crime.”

P. 85 *Juang* 1.1 *Yiin jy yee. Shwu yiin? Yiin tzyy yee.* (108) “In order to commiserate. Commiserate with whom? Commiserate with the son.” Lii Tzong-donq mistakenly interprets *yiin* in the sense of ‘to conceal’.

P. 85 *Juang* 1.2 *Furen jenn gong iu Chyi hour. Gong iue: Torng fei wu tzyy, Chyi hour jy tzyy yee.* (109) “They consort [of duke Hwan of Luu] slandered the duke before the marquis of Chyi, [alleging that] the duke had said: ‘Torng is not my son, but the son of the marquis of Chyi.’” Lii Tzong-donq punctuates wrongly, entirely misses the point of the story and suggests that she made this statement to her husband.

P. 97 *Juang* 4.7 *Tzer herwey dwu iu tsyy yan ji?* (110) “Then why is criticism expressed only here?” Lii Tzong-donq places a question mark after *yan*, thus excluding the verb from the sentence. He erroneously adds the verb *ji* (‘to criticize’) to the immediately following sentence which should properly read as follows: *Iu chour jee jiang yih ji erl yii.* (111) “In the case of feuds criticism is expressed only once.”

P. 98 *Juang* 4.7 *Chour jee wu shyrr yan kee yeu tong.* (112) “At no time may one

communicate with one's feud enemy." Lii Tzong-donq's translation is grossly misleading: *Chourren bwuluenn shemme shyrho dou keeyii gen Luu Juanggong shiangtong*. (113) "The feud enemy was able to communicate with duke Juang of Luu at any time."

P. 102 *Juang 7.2-3 Liehshing bwu jiann, heryii jy yeh jy jong? Shing faan yee*. (114) "Since the fixed stars were not visible, how was it known that it was midnight? The stars [finally] reappeared." Lii Tzong-donq punctuates as follows: *Heryii jy? Yeh jy jong shing faan yee*.

P. 107 *Juang 9.2 Wey chyi huey yeu dahfu meng yee*. (115) "In order to conceal the fact that [the duke] made a covenant with [one] great officer." Lii Tzong-donq omits the causative copula *wey*.

P. 133 *Juang 23.1 Tsyy jy Hwan gwo. Heryii jyh? Wei jy yee*. (116) "Here [the duke] travelled to Hwan's state. Why, then, was his return reported? In order to express the danger of the undertaking." Lii Tzong-donq's translation shows that he has failed to appreciate the verbal function of *jy*, 'to go to': *Jeh tsyh Chyi Hwangong kai huey fabeau, inwey jyueder heen weishean*. (117) "On this occasion the meeting called by duke Hwan of Chyi was publicized, since [the *Chuenchiou*] considered the undertaking dangerous." Not only is the translation erroneous, but its syntax is garbled.

P. 140 *Juang 25.3 Huoh iue wey ann koong ren fann jy*. (118) "Others say that because of the darkness one feared lest people might violate it (sc. the *sheh* altar)." Lii Tzong-donq apparently reads *wei* for *wey* and provides the following faulty translation: *Yeou ren shuo baa ta biannder heiann, koongpah yeou ren chinfann*. (119) "Some say that since the altar was laid in darkness one feared lest people might violate it."

P. 153 *Juang 31.1 Lin min jy suoo sow huann yee*. (120) "It was near to the place where the people rinsed and washed [their clothes]." I find it hard to understand how Lii Tzong-donq can have arrived at the following translation: *Jeh shyh lin renmin de dihfang lai shiishua ganjing*. (121) "This is because they approached the area where the people lived and cleansed it."

P. 154 *Juang 31.4 Chyi huoh erl guoh woo yee*. (122) "[They] displayed the captured spoils from banners when passing through our state." Lii Tzong-donq mistakenly translates as follows: *Shyh baa ta derdaw de Shan Rong chyijyh geei Luugwo ren guankann*. (123) "This indicates that [they] displayed the flags and banners which they had captured from the Shan Rong for the people of Luu to see."

P. 165 *Miin 2.6 Tserng buh shing shy, twu yii yan erl yii yii*. (124) "[Supposing that Chyi would have wished to take Luu], they could have done so with a mere statement [to that effect], without having raised an army." Lii Tzong-donq punctuates as follows: *Tserng buh shing shytwu, yii yan erl yii yii*. This mistake is very easily made, and has in fact been made also by the meticulously careful

editors of the *Harvard-Yenching Index* text. A rapid consultation of the *Concordances* shows that the alleged expression *shytwu* is recorded only once, viz. in this entry, and that the adverb *twu* is quite common in the sense of 'solely'. From these facts we must draw the conclusion that the *Harvard-Yenching Index* punctuation is mistaken. I am happy to note that Shieh Der-san, in his *Chuenchiou Gongyang juann shiutzyh chyuanshyh* (p. 89) has punctuated this passage correctly.

P. 175 *Shi* 2.3 *Maa chu jy ney jiow, shih jy way jiow eel. Jiun her sanq yan?* (125) "The horses would be brought out from our own stables and [temporarily] tied up in a stable outside our state. What would you, my lord, lose by that?" Lii Tzong-donq treats the exceedingly common sentence suffix *eel* as the second person pronoun *eel*, 'you'.

P. 177 *Shi* 2.4 . . . , *tzer jong gwo herwey dwu yan Chyi Sonq jyh eel?* (126) ". . . , then why is it stated that of the central states only Chyi and Sonq arrived?" Lii Tzong-donq places a question mark after *Sonq* and relates *jyh eel* to the immediately following sentence.

P. 192 *Shi* 8.1 The name of the great *Gongyang* scholar Her Shiou (68) is here given as Her Shiou (69). The same gruesome error is found also on pages 219, 329, 372 (twice) and 641.

P. 231 *Shi* 24.4 *Shyh wang yee. Buh neng hwu muu jee, chyi ju tsyy jy wey yu?* (127) "This was the king. Could the statement that he could not get along with his mother perhaps refer to this instance?" Lii Tzong-donq's translation is both inaccurate and singularly awkward: *Jehge Jouwang, buh neng shyhfenq tade muuchin, jiowshyh jehge ren.* (128) "This king of Jou was unable to serve his mother, he was actually this man."

P. 256 *Shi* 33.3 *Jiun tzay hwu binn erl yonq shy, wei buh der tzanq yee.* (129) "The ruler participated in a war expedition during the *binn* ceremony. There was danger that he would not be able to bury [his father]." Lii Tzong-donq punctuates as follows: *Jiun tzay hwu binn erl yonq shy wei, buh der tzanq yee.* His translation suffers accordingly.

P. 481 *Shiang* 27.4 *Chuh woo jee fei Ning shyh yeu Suen Shyh, farn tzay eel.* (130) "The one who expelled me was neither [the head of] the Ning clan nor [the head of] the Suen clan! It all rested with you!" Lii Tzong-donq's failure to punctuate the passage correctly (he writes: *Chuh woo jee fei Ning shyh yu, Suen shyh farn tzay eel.*) has led him to translate in the following tortuous manner: *Chiujuwu (sic!) woo de bwushyh Ningshyh, jyyshyh Suenshyh tzay jehlii.* (131) "The one who expelled me was not [the head of] the Ning clan, it is simply so that the Suen clan remains here." (?)

P. 590 *Dinq* 8.16 *Jyh hwu ryh, ruoh shyrl chu. Lin-nan jee, Yang-huu jy chu yee, yuh jy.* (132) "When it came to that day [Jih-suen] left [for his rendez-vous

with Yang-huu] at the time which had been agreed upon. A certain Lin-nan, who was a relative of Yang-huu, was the driver (of Jih-suen's chariot)." Lii Tzong-donq presents the following utterly garbled reading of this passage: *Jyh hwu ryh ruoh shyr, erl chu Lin-nan jee, Yang-huu san chu yee, yuh jy.* (133) Lii's abominable "translation", which I refuse to render into English, reads as follows: *Dawle nahtian nahge shyrho, chushiann Lin-nan (!), Yang-huu chulai (!), Lin-nan geei ta gaan che.* (134).

P. 591 *Dinq 8.16 Fwu rutzyy der gwo erl yii, ru janqfu her?* (135) "That youngster has gained control in the state, that is all! What has that got to do with a man [like me]?" Lii Tzong-donq erroneously translates as follows: *Jehge sheauhairtz jyyshyh sheang derdaw Luugwo de jenqchyuan, shianq ge dahren ma?* (136) "That child simply wishes to gain the political control over the state of Luu, does he resemble a grown-up man?"

P. 624 *Ai 6.8 Yeu jy yuh jye erl tzoou jy.* (137) "[He] gave him a jade token and sent him off in a hurry." Lii Tzong-donq, who has failed to appreciate the causative function of the verb *tzoou*, 'to run', translates as follows: *Geei ta yuhjye jiow tzooule* (138) "[He] gave him a jade token and then walked away."

P. 624 *Ai 6.8 Yuann ju dahfu jy huah woo yee.* (139) "I would like you all to dispense with etiquette [and be my guests]." Lii Tzong-donq, who has missed the meaning of the verb *huah*, translates as follows: *Yuann geh dahfu daw woo jia lai.* (140) "[I] wish that all of you would come to my place."

P. 624 *Ai 6.8 Wu yeou suoo wei jea, chiing yii shyh yan.* (141) "I have some material for the making of coats of arms. I request permission to show it to you." Lii Tzong-donq ignores the expression *suoo wei* (here = *suooyii wei*) and translates as follows: *Woo yeou yitaw bingjea chiing niimen kann.* (142) "I have a set of armour which I would like to show you."

The list of errors in Lii Tzong-donq's work could be lengthened *ad nauseam*. It is indeed regrettable that a work of this kind should have been included in a series which aims at promoting respect for classical Chinese scholarship!

1、謝德三，春秋公羊傳虛字詮釋，啓聖圖書公司，高雄 2、李宗侗春秋公羊今註今譯 3、盡信書則不如無書（孟子，盡心下） 4、夫何敢？是將爲（孔＝）亂乎？ 5、公一陳（位＝）佗也 6、然則爲（其＝）取可以爲其有乎？ 7、慶（文＝）父也存 8、且如桓（公＝）立 9、殤公知孔（文＝）父死已必死 10、山川有能潤于百里者，天子（秧＝）秧而祭之 11、令之還師而（佚＝）佚晉寇 12、儀（文＝）父者何？ 13、在側者曰子（荀＝）荀知之何以不革？ 14、以（邪＝）邾婁子益來 15、若楚王之妻媼 16、若使楚王之妻媼 17、中國不（是＝）足歸也 18、刺欲救紀而後不能（他＝）也 19、猶曰（秦＝）秦女所不知何？ 20、臨南曰有力不（是＝）足 21、（賊＝）賤乎賤者孰謂？ 22、貶必於（垂＝）重者 23、孔子曰其禮與其辭（是＝）足觀矣， 24、則未知（分＝）公子喜時從與？ 25、此不（兩＝）雨之日長而無災， 26、且如桓立則恐諸人夫之不能相幼君也 27、且使子而可逐則先君其逐臣矣 28、君殺正而立不正 29、吾不立子者所以生子者也 30此未有伐中國者 31、則未知其在齊與在曹與？ 32、曰嘻！此誠爾國也夫？起而致國于夏父 33、齊人侵我西鄙 34、當時而曰，危不得葬也 35、前此者有事矣，後此者有事矣，則曷爲獨於此焉譏？ 36、於讎者將壹譏而已 37、使我爲媒，可，則因用是往逆矣 38、天子有事于泰山，諸侯皆從。泰山之下諸侯皆有湯沐之邑焉。 39、列星不見，何以知夜之中？星反也 40、桓公之享國也長，美見乎天下，故不爲之諱本惡也 41、見使守衛，朔而不能使衛小衆， 42、視朔 43、金其源，讀書管見 44、此其爲可褒奈何？漸進也 45、俄而牙棼械成。 46、讎者無時焉可與通 47、魚時之罪奈何？以入是爲罪也 48、宋公謂公子目夷曰：子歸守國矣 49、子玉得臣則其稱人何？ 50、文公死，子幼，公子遂謂叔仲惠伯曰 51、孔父正色而立於朝，則人莫敢過而致難於其君者 52、大國言齊宋，遠國言江黃，則以其餘爲莫敢不至也 53、吳在是，則天下諸侯莫敢不至也 54、衆雖欲立之，其立之非也 55、乎 56、曷爲不言其獲？ 57、吾見子之君子也 58、至之曰也 59、吾大夫之命乎天子者也 60、與之玉節而走之 61、一相處乎內 62、賊未討，何以書葬？不成于弑也 63、若夫約言爲信則非臣僕庶孽之所敢與也， 64、數年然後歸之，於其歸焉用事乎河 65、因 66、中華文化復興運動推行委員會 67、國立編譯館中華叢書編審委員會 68、何休 69、合休 70、陳鼓應，莊子今註今譯 71、已殺之如勿與而已矣 72、微國則其稱侯何？不嫌也，春秋貴賤不嫌同號，美惡不嫌，同辭 73、但是爲什麼也稱他侯呢？因爲對於稱呼沒有分別，春秋的時代，貴君同賤君不怕同一個稱號，好人同壞人也不嫌用同一個文辭 74、內大惡諱此其目言之何？ 75、內裡人壞事就避諱，這爲什麼看見就記載？ 76、目見也，斥見其惡 77、曷爲以二日卒之？愆也 78、已丑之日死而得 79、已丑之日，才完全死 80、外相如不書此何以書？離不言會 81、因爲紀國沒有參加會盟 82、二國會曰離 83、其諸以病桓與？ 84、樵之也 85、樵，薪也，以樵燒之，故因謂之樵

之；樵之齊人語86、把他變成木材87、把他變做木炭88、君存焉爾，89、他的君仍舊存在90、因為難數的君存在在咸丘，91、貴者無後待之以初也92、貴重的人雖沒有後人也應當拿最初的爵位來對待他93、使我為媒可則因用是往逆矣94、叫我做媒人，就可以用媒人去迎接95、自我言紀父母之於子雖為天王后，猶曰吾季姜96、從我來說紀國父母……97、公不見要也98、因為魯桓公不想同衛侯見面99、權之所設，舍死亡無所設100、權是有所設施的，死亡是沒有所設施的101、未言爾102、沒有話可說103、曷為未言爾？104為什麼不說盟誓呢？105、不必要說106、屬負茲，舍，不即罪爾107、天子不給他加罪108、隱之也孰隱？隱子也109、夫人謂公於齊侯公曰：同非吾子，齊侯之子也110、則曷為獨於此焉譏？111、於讎者將壹譏而已112、讎者無時焉可與通113、仇人不論什麼時候都可以跟魯莊公相通114、列星不見何以知夜之中？星反也115、為其諱與大夫盟也116、此之桓國何以致？危之也117、這次齊桓公開會發表，因為覺得危險118、或曰為闇恐人犯之119、有人說把他變得黑暗，恐怕有人侵犯之120、臨民之所漱浣也121、這是臨人民的地方來洗刷乾淨122、旗獲而過我也123、是把他得到的山成旗幟給魯國人觀看124、曾不與師徙以言而已125、馬出之內轅繫之外轅爾君何喪焉？126、則中國曷為獨言齊宋至爾？127、是王也不能乎母者，其諸此之謂與？128、這個周王，不能侍奉他母親，就是這個人129、君在乎殯而用師危不得葬也130、黜我者非甯氏與孫氏，凡在爾131、驅（遂＝）逐我的不是甯氏，祇是孫氏在這裡132、至乎日，若時而出臨南者，陽虎之出也，御之133、至乎日若時，而出臨南者，陽虎三出也御之134、到了那天那個時候出現臨南，陽虎出來，臨南給他趕車135、夫孺子得國而已如丈夫何？136、這個小孩子祇是想得到魯國的政權像個大人嗎？137、與之玉節而走之138、給他玉節就走了139、願請大夫之化我也140、願各大夫到我家來141、吾有所為甲，請以示焉142、我有一套兵甲，請你們看一看。

CHINESE CERAMICS FROM THE AXEL AND NORA LUNDGREN BEQUEST

by

JAN WIRGIN

The Axel and Nora Lundgren collection of Chinese art is one of the best-known private collections in Sweden, comprising a relatively small but choice selection of Chinese bronzes and ceramics, a few textiles and one remarkable painting. Articles about the bronzes and the painting was published in the previous volume of the Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.

Axel Lundgren was one of the early group of Swedish collectors of Chinese art which flourished already during the late 1920's. He lent several objects from his collection to the exhibition of Chinese applied arts arranged in Stockholm in 1928.

Axel Lundgren died in 1939 and since that date hardly anything has been added to the collection. His widow continued to take good care of the collection and showed great hospitality to Swedish and foreign visitors who came to see it and also generously lent objects to exhibitions in Copenhagen, Venice and Stockholm.

Nora Lundgren died in 1976 and her home and the collection, which also included western art — paintings, furniture, silver and other art objects — as well as some very fine Oriental carpets, was bequeathed to the National Swedish Art Museums. The Chinese objects thus came to the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.

The collection of Chinese ceramics numbers around 120 objects of which a little less than a hundred have been selected for this paper. The collection is not a very large one, but one of extreme merit. It comprises only a few objects earlier than Sung. The Sung objects are also comparatively few and the main part of the collection consists of Ming and Ch'ing porcelain.

I am indebted to Mr. Sven Nilsson, Chief photographer of the National Swedish Art Museums, for all the trouble he has taken with the photographic work.

Pre-Sung wares

The oldest piece among the ceramics selected for this paper is a wine-jar in the shape of a bronze *Hu* (Pl 9) which is a very fine example of lead-glazed Han ware with moulded design. *Hu* jars and "Hill-jars") of this type with detailed moulded

friezes are quite common and are usually provided with a green, iridescent glaze³), but this jar has a more unusual dark amber-coloured glaze. A similar *Hu* was recently sold at Sotheby's⁴). The moulded band includes a variety of animals, a huntsman on horseback and one of the strange fairies or "bird-men" so commonly seen in designs from the Han era.

There were only two tomb figurines in the collection, a standing laden Bactrian camel and a standing caparisoned horse (Pls. 10–11). They are both of a common type found in Sui and early T'ang⁵) and seem to have been added to the collection more as decorative objects for their home than because of any special artistic merits. Of greater interest is the brown-glazed jar (Pl. 12) with a frosted greyish blue area on one side, which, with its simple but perfect form, is a fine example of T'ang stoneware. Specimens of a similar type are reported to have come from Honan province where they have been associated with the *Chün* kilns in the Yü-chou district. However, this jar has a dark greyish body instead of the lighter buff-coloured body usually found in that group and the glaze, which usually stops well short of the base, in this case covers the whole exterior of the pot and continues under the base.

The covered box (Pl. 13:a) decorated with an elegantly carved peony design is a good example of 10th century *Yüeh* ware. The characteristic shape is commonly found during this time especially among boxes attributed to the Shang-lin hu kiln in Chekiang. Several similar specimens are found in different collections⁶) and the design is also recorded among those found in the *Yüeh* kilns⁷).

Sung and Yüan wares

Among the Sung ceramics in the collection the most important group is the *Ting* ware which is represented by several extremely fine specimens. The two bowls (Pls. 14–15) with freely incised lotus designs are both characteristic of the Northern Sung style and belong to the type which I have called Ti 7⁸). The design covering the whole of the inside is incised forcefully and with elegance and is perfectly spaced. The deep bowl (Pl. 16) has a similar, but more sketchily depicted, lotus design which lacks the combed details found in the decoration mentioned earlier. This pattern (Ti 8) is one of those most common found in Northern Sung *Ting yao*. Another well-known design from the same time showing two swimming ducks with lotus and reeds (Type Ti 20) is represented in the collection by a very fine and clearly carved dish (Pl. 17⁹).

The most unusual piece in the *Ting yao* group is the beautiful mallet-shaped vase decorated with a freely incised design of two archaic dragons of the *ch'ih* type (Pl. 18). The decoration is closest to the type I have called Ti 28 and the vase was most probably made during the first half of the 12th century. *Ting* ware vases are very rare and its closest parallel as far as I know is the lotus-decorated vase in the David Foundation¹⁰). This vase has a tubular neck but the mouth-rim is bound with copper and might very well originally have been provided with a dished mouth similar to the Lundgren vase. A globular vase with long neck in the Barlow

collection¹⁰⁾ also has a similar dished mouth which is also to be found among contemporary *Lung-ch'üan* vases of this shape.

Moulded *Ting yao* is represented by a saucer with a design of phoenixes among cloud-volutes (Pl. 19). The moulding is very clear and distinct and the design is typical of the Chin dynasty (Type Ti 50). A dish with a variant of the same design formerly in the collection of King Gustav VI Adolf is already in the M.F.E.A. A still later example of moulding is the bowl (Pl. 20) of *Ting* type with a greyish-white glaze decorated with palmette-scrolls as the main design. An interesting feature of this bowl is the incorporation of different auspicious objects among the palmettes. This is a feature quite common among early blue-and-white where Buddhist symbols in particular are often seen. Such symbols are found on the David vases dated 1351 and are also seen on a number of 14th century dishes, vases and jars¹¹⁾. Stylistically the bowl must be dated to the end of the Chin or the beginning of the Yüan dynasty.

Among the ware of *Ting* type are also a small foliated dish (Pl. 21:a)¹²⁾ and a stem cup (Pl. 13:b) which both date from Northern Sung time. The stem cup belongs to a very distinct family characterized by small spurs and a fine white body¹³⁾. The origin of this ware is still unknown.

There are only three pieces of *Ch'ing-pai* in the collection: a pair of plain six-lobed bowls (Pl. 21:b) of common Sung type and a deep bowl of Yüan date (Pl. 22). The latter, with its fine detailed peony design, which is very sharply moulded and covered with a clear, pale blue glaze, is the only piece in the collection which was exhibited at the 1935-36 London Exhibition. It is a very good example of late *Ch'ing-pai* ware of a characteristic deep, rounded shape.

Of the two *Chün* specimens in the collection (Pl. 23:a-b) the bowl is the earlier of the two, its characteristic Northern Sung shape, also being found in Northern celadon. The dish, which is of very fine quality, has the characteristic broken-off firing spurs so often found in 13th century *Chün* ware.

The *celadon* group is represented by two bowls of fine quality with carved lotus petals on the outside (Pl. 24:a-b) and one bowl with a freely incised lotus scroll on the inside (Pl. 25). The type represented by the last mentioned bowl has been found already in the Northern Sung layers at Chin ts'un in Lung-ch'üan hsien, but continued into the Yüan dynasty. The earlier pieces of this kind usually have combed details which are lacking in this one¹⁴⁾. The jar (Pl. 26:a) with ribbed sides is a well-known Yüan type of *Lung-ch'üan* which seems to have been common as export ware. Jars of this type have been found in the Philippines and in Indonesia and they are also represented in the Ardebil and Topkapi collections. Among the ceramics retrieved from the recently found Chinese merchantman sunk off the Korean coast were also several similar jars¹⁵⁾. The ship was probably wrecked around 1320-30.

Ming wares

Ming blue-and-white porcelain forms one of the most important groups in the Lundgren collection, with fine examples of several well-known types. There are

two early 15th century dishes, one with the "bouquet motif" in the centre and the other one with a composite floral scroll (Pl. 27:a-b). "Bouquet plates" seem to have been very popular at the time; there are no less than 34 of varying sizes and with varying scroll- and wave-borders in the Ardebil collection¹⁶). One dish of this type from the collection of the late King Gustav VI Adolf is already in the M.F.E.A. An interesting feature about these dishes is that the composite floral scroll on the outside always has 14 flowers but the scroll on the inside has only 13, the odd one out often seems to be a pomegranate¹⁷).

The other dish (Pl. 27:b) is also of a well-known type examples of which are found in many collections¹⁸). It is also found with a scroll border at the rim instead of the more usual wave-border as can be seen on examples in the Ardebil collection¹⁹).

The finest and most unusual of all the blue-and-white pieces is the Hsüan-te stem cup (Colour plate 1). It is forcefully painted on the outside with two dragons in a dark underglaze blue and has on the inside a finely incised design of two similar dragons. The potting is extremely fine and the shape very well balanced. In the centre inside is the six-character Hsüan-te mark. The stem cup was first described as early as 1938 by Brankston²⁰). To the best of my knowledge no identical specimen is known. A Hsüan-te marked stem cup of the same shape in the National Palace Museum²¹) has the same type of petal panels around the base of the bowl and an identical scroll border round the stem. The main decoration of the bowl is a band of *siddham* characters. The unmarked stem cup with a phoenix design in the Matsuoka Museum is also of the same shape and has identical lotus petal panels²²).

Another fine example of Hsüan-te blue-and-white is the gourd-shaped flask (Colour plate 2 and Pl. 28). It is decorated on the front side (where it is marked) with a lotus rosette with the *yin-yang* symbol in the centre surrounded by a chevron band; on the other side is a lotus rosette with a different centre surrounded by a classic scroll border. The same arrangement is found on a flask in the Seattle Art Museum. On several other flasks of this type, however, the pattern is reversed so that the rosette with the *yin-yang* centre and the chevron border are on the back and the other rosette on the front side²³). There are also several unmarked flasks with the same design believed to date from the Yung-lo period.

The covered stem cup (Pl. 29:a) decorated with a lotus scroll is most unusual. The shape is well-known from several similar cups, but they are usually decorated with a floral wreath similar to the one found on the tankard in Pl. 29:b, and carry the Hsüan-te mark. When they are covered the cover looks exactly like the one on the Lundgren cup. Examples are to be found in the National Palace Museum and in the former Sedgwick collection²⁴); several cups without cover are known for example in the David Foundation and the Brundage collection. The porcelain, the quality of the potting and the painting on the Lundgren piece all seem to point at a Hsüan-te date in spite of the fact that it lacks a mark.

The tankard of a shape based on Islamic prototypes (Pl. 29:b) is of a type well-known from several collections, all of which have almost identical decoration and a six-character horizontal Hsüan-te mark on the shoulder in front²⁵). The bowl decorated with a wreath of peonies (Pl. 30) is also of a common Hsüan-te type. One similar bowl is already in the M.F.E.A.²⁶).

The porcelain of the Ch'eng-hua period is represented in the collection by three very fine pieces. The two bowls (Colour plate 3) decorated with scrolls of mallow on the sides are extremely delicately painted and potted. They are slightly different in colour and execution and might not have formed a pair originally. Bowls of this kind, often labelled "Palace bowls" are highly appreciated and found in a number of collections²⁷). The Ch'eng-hua bowl decorated with large clusters of fruiting melon vine (Pl. 31) is also a piece of very high quality and of a type well-known during this period²⁸).

Among the later Ming wares in blue-and-white is a dragon-decorated leys jar (Pl. 32:a) of a very common type with Cheng-te mark²⁹), and a small vase of square faceted shape (Pl. 32:b) which is marked Hsüan-te. The latter belongs to a group which has been discussed by Margaret Medley in an article in the T.O.C.S.^{29 a}). Specimens belonging to this group are rather difficult to date but the Lundgren vase, judging from the painting and the potting undoubtedly seems to be later than the period of its mark. It was probably made around 1600.

Chia-ching blue-and-white is represented by a pair of rather unusual covered jars decorated with a vivid design of lions playing with brocaded balls (Pl. 33). The two jars are slightly different. One has a very clear and distinct painting, the design of the other one is blurred. The size and the calligraphy of the marks are also different.

The monochrome wares of the Ming dynasty are well represented in the collection by several important pieces. There are two early dishes with plain white glaze. One of them (Pl. 34) with lobated sides and a foliate rim is decorated with a finely incised design of flowers and in the centre a vine-scroll. There is a pair of similar dishes in the Kempe Foundation³⁰). The same kind of dish is quite often seen in blue-and-white, usually decorated with a floral spray in the centre³¹), but there are also dishes with an almost identical vine-scroll³²). Plain white dishes of this type are also known³³). The type is usually dated to the Yung-lo period.

The other white dish (Pl.35) has a very fine and detailed incised flower decoration and is marked with a horizontal Hsüan-te mark below the rim on the outside. It is an unusually fine example of the porcelain with incised designs of the period. This dish, too, has an almost identical parallel in the Kempe Foundation³⁴).

There are two pieces with monochrome blue glaze and Hsüan-te mark in the collection. A stem cup with deep blue glaze on the outside and plain glaze on the interior (Pl. 36) and a dish with dark-blue glaze which covers both the inside and the outside (Pl. 37:a). Both pieces seem to have all the characteristics of early

14th century porcelain and there seems no reason to doubt that they belong to the period of the mark.

A dish with a deep liver-red glaze (Pl. 37:b) is also marked Hsüan-te, this time the mark is finely incised on the base. The potting and the colour of the glaze, however, seem to indicate a 16th century date.

A large jar of *potiche* shape (Pl. 38) decorated with an incised design and covered with turquoise-blue glaze is clearly related to similar jars in the *fa-hua* style and in blue-and-white and can be dated to the early part of the 16th century. An undecorated bowl covered on the outside with brilliant turquoise glaze (Pl. 39:a) is more difficult to date, but the shape and the potting points to a late 15th or early 16th century date. A similar bowl, with "peacock-green" glaze and an incised petal panel design above the foot, of Cheng-te date is in the Peking Palace Museum³⁵).

Among the Ming monochromes is also a bowl with bright yellow glaze marked Hung-chih (Pl. 39:b) and of the period and a white glazed ten-lobed bowl with flaring sides with a four-character Cheng-te mark (Pl. 40:a). It is almost identical with a bowl in the National Palace Museum and a pair of bowls in the Kempe Foundation³⁶).

The Chia-ching period is represented by three monochromes: a stem cup with yellow glaze and an *an-hua* design of floral sprays (Pl. 40:b), a small jar with a finely incised phoenix design³⁷) and a small bowl with dark blue glaze (Pl. 41:a-b). Among the Ming monochromes are also two pieces with *celadon* glaze; a small bowl and a gourd-shaped bottle (Pl. 42:a-b). The bowl has an inscription which is dated the *hsin mao* year of Wan-li (1591 A.D.) stating that it was made for the Ju-ch'eng family. An identical bowl is in the Hong Kong Museum of Art³⁸).

A large fish bowl with brilliant turquoise-blue glaze with dark blue markings (Colour plate 4) probably dates from the end of the Ming dynasty. The potting and the shape are characteristic of Ming but the glaze, which has a tendency to flake off on the exterior, is of a kind which continues well into the K'ang-hsi period.

The polychrome Ming wares are well represented in the collection with good examples of several different types.

The *fa-hua* group is represented by three pieces. The most important of these is the splendid late 15th century jar with designs of peafowl under a frieze of pendant jewel strings (Colour plate 5). One very similar jar is in the Matsuoka Museum³⁹), another, slightly different, is in the Baur collection⁴⁰) and one with a different border on the shoulder is in the David Foundation⁴¹).

An interesting and amusing piece is the *fa-hua* inkstone in the shape of a bearded scholar (Pl. 44) which is a good example of the kind of desk accesorie which the Chinese gentleman delighted in. The incense burner (Pl. 45) has probably been part of an altar set which originally included two vases and a pair of candle-sticks⁴²). It has lost its original cover, which has been replaced by a recent wooden one.

From the Chia-ching period there are a bowl and a saucer of the well-known type decorated with peach-trees, which have taken the shape of *shou* characters, in green on an amber yellow ground (Pl. 46:a-b). They both have the Chia-ching mark⁴³), but on the bowl it is written in black under the yellow glaze and on the dish in underglaze blue under plain glaze.

A square bowl of a shape common during Chia-ching and usually named "scrap bowl" is decorated in different enamel colours with dragons and *ling-chih* scrolls between borders in underglaze blue (Pl. 47:b). A similar bowl is in the Hellner collection, Stockholm, and another one in the Jacksonville Art Museum⁴⁴). Another type of decoration is used on the jar (Pl. 48), which is painted in red and green enamel only. The main design is composed of entwined branches of pine and prunus. It has a mark of good wish in a *cash*-shaped arrangement on the base and no period mark, but could also be dated to the Chia-ching period. Similar designs are also found on blue-and-white ware of the period.

The two stem cups (Pl. 49) are decorated with dragons among clouds in red, green and yellow enamel. Their sizes are slightly different and the larger one has a more detailed painting. Centred inside on both cups is the mark *chao fu chih yung* (made for the use of the Chao family). A bowl with the same mark is in the Art Institute of Chicago⁴⁵) and at least one other bowl is in Japan⁴⁶). It is likely that these pieces were originally part of a set. They are clearly related to the group decorated with winged dragons carrying the mark *Shang yung* which I discussed in connection with the cataloging of the Lauritzen collection⁴⁷). There are also pieces marked *Fu* and those with the date mark *Ta Ming nien chih* which belong to the same family. They all seem to be datable to the early part of the Chia-ching period.

The large jar (Colour plate 6) with a detailed and lively figure scene as the main design is also painted in red, green and yellow enamel and belongs to a well-known family of enamelled Chia-ching ware. Bowls, dishes and jars of different shapes often decorated with figure scenes from popular novels and dramas are frequently found in this group, which also uses characteristic borders of varying types. A jar of the same shape and size as the Lundgren one is in a Japanese collection⁴⁸) and similar figure designs are found on several other pieces.

To the same group with red, green and yellow decoration also belongs the large *potiche*-shaped jar (Pl. 50), decorated with a broad band with figure scenes with several elaborate borders. Similar jars with varying border and main designs are found in different collections. They are usually unmarked but seem all to be dateable to the Chia-ching period.

The enamelled ware of the Wan-li period is represented by a jar decorated with dragons and Buddhist emblems in yellow on a green background (Colour plate 7). It is a fine example of a well-known type found in several collections⁴⁹). They usually, like the Lundgren example, lack their cover, but a jar where it is still preserved is in the Peking Palace Museum⁵⁰).

From the very end of the Ming dynasty is the pot and cover (Pl. 51:a) decorated in enamel on the biscuit with *hai-ma* among waves. The design is commonly found during the middle of the 17th century, especially on bowls⁴¹), but the shape is rather unusual. The spout, however, seems to have been shortened.

Ch'ing wares

The ceramic wares of the Ch'ing dynasty are represented by several very fine examples in the Lundgren collection among which the monochromes clearly dominate.

From the K'ang-hsi period is a brush-rest in the shape of five pointed mountain peaks covered with brilliant turquoise glaze (Pl. 51:b). A similar brush-rest from the collection of Gustav VI Adolf is already in the M.F.E.A. and the type is rather common. From the same period are two examples of porcelain with *celadon* glaze, a water pot and a vase. The water pot (Pl. 52:a), which is of a cut-off conical shape and has cloud designs in slip under the glaze, is most characteristic of the K'ang-hsi reign and is found with differently coloured glazes, the most common being green and white⁴²). The shape seems to be a K'ang-hsi innovation; they are always decorated with clouds and have the six-character K'ang-hsi mark in underglaze blue on the base. The vase (Pl. 53) is of a more unusual form having a melon-shaped body and a flared trumpet mouth. It has a fine, pale *celadon* glaze and an unglazed base without any period mark. It was exhibited in the Berlin exhibition of 1929.

There are three specimens from the same period with *clair-de-lune* glazes, a *mei-p'ing* vase with *ju-i* heads in moulded relief on the shoulder (Pl. 54), a baluster shaped vase with a tall neck (Pl. 55) and a small pear-shaped vase (Pl. 52:b). The two former are marked K'ang-hsi, the small vase is unmarked.

Probably also of K'ang-hsi date is the delicately potted little cup (Pl. 56:b) with plain white glaze and decorated with an *an-hua* design of five-clawed dragons. It carries a six-character Yung-lo mark in underglaze blue and was formerly believed to belong to the period of its mark.

Other specimens having a plain white glaze are the cup with gently rounded sides (Pl. 56:a) and the pair of bowls in flower shape (Pl. 56:c). They are all marked Yung-cheng and belong to the period. From the same period, and also marked, is a pair of bowls with fine, lustrous lavender-blue glaze (Pl. 57:a).

A more unusual specimen is the large flower bowl on five low feet (Pl. 57:b), which is covered with lustrous "sky blue" glaze with a fine, wide crackle. It has no mark, but the fine quality and the unglazed base with its light brown dressing seem to indicate that it also belongs to the Yung-cheng period.

There are three pairs of bowls of different sizes, and of different shapes, which all have a bright lemon-yellow glaze and are marked Yung-cheng (Pls. 58:a-b, 59:a). There is also a pair of small, thinly-potted cups with coral-red glaze (Pl. 59:b).

A fine and unusual piece is the baluster shaped jar with loop-handles (Pl. 60:a) with pale green *celadon* glaze. It once had a domed cover with a knob which was unfortunately lost during World War II when the collection was evacuated. It has a six-character Yung-cheng mark in seal-script on the base. The piece was shown in the 1929 Berlin exhibition. Also with *celadon* glaze and provided with the same mark is the bowl (Pl. 60:b) moulded with a chrysanthemum petal pattern.

The vase (Pl. 61), in a shape usually associated with the Ch'ien-lung period, is covered with rich turquoise blue glaze which is minutely crazed. The base is unglazed⁶⁵).

There are only a small number of enamel decorated Ch'ing ware in the collection, but among them are some of extremely fine quality.

The small water pot (Pl. 62:a), in the shape of a fruiting melon vine, is glazed in green, yellow and aubergine. It belongs to the group of fanciful objects made for the scholar's table and seems to date from the K'ang-hsi period.

The pair of Yung-cheng bowls (Pl. 62:b) with an incised design of playing children on a garden terrace in green on a yellow ground, is of a well-known type which goes back to a Ming prototype. Several similar bowls are found in other collections. They are found with two different types of borders, one featuring the symmetrical floral motives seen on the Lundgren bowls, the other with oval quatrefoils⁶⁶). An interesting detail of the type represented by the Lundgren bowls is that not all the incised details are filled in with green; the grass and the clouds have been left without the colour. In the other type all of the incised design is filled in with green.

The so-called *tou-ts'ai* ware, in which underglaze blue is delicately combined with overglaze enamel in red, green and pale aubergine, is represented in the collection by a pair of wine cups decorated with fruiting vines (Pl. 63:a). Like most cups of this type they bear the mark of the Ch'eng-hua period during which this new style of decoration first appeared, but they are obviously not earlier than the 18th century⁶⁷).

The pair of cups (Pl. 63:b) decorated in various enamel colours on a bright yellow ground belong to a controversial group which have the K'ang-hsi imperial mark in blue enamel on the base. It is difficult to accept the date of the mark for such an elaborate use of coloured enamel of the *famille rose* palette as is found on cups of this type. The quality of the painting and the potting is not up to the standard which should be expected of an imperial K'ang-hsi ware either. The cups were probably made towards the end of the 18th century.

Famille rose decoration is represented in the collection only by two Yung-cheng pieces, but they are both of superb quality. The first is a dish (Colour plate 8) with a very finely painted design of flowering branches which begins on the outside and continues over the rim to cover the interior. It has a six-character Yung-cheng mark written in underglaze blue on the base. The painting and the potting are exquisite and the dish is undoubtedly among the finest of its kind. It once belonged to the Charles Russell collection. The second piece (Pl. 64) is also a

dish but here the *famille rose* design is confined to the interior, which has a most delicate and detailed painting of a basket filled with various flowers. The motif is executed in a full palette of *famille rose* enamel and is a veritable tour-de-force of enamel painting. The exterior of the plate is covered with opaque pink enamel, and the six-character Yung-cheng mark is written in underglaze blue on the base.

NOTES

- 1) Cp. MEDLEY, M.: *The Chinese Potter*. Oxford 1976. Fig. 32.
- 2) A similar jar with green glaze is already in the M.F.E.A.
- 3) Tuesday, 5th July 1977. Cat.no. 49.
- 4) Cp. JOSEPH-MOSS-FLEMING: *Chinese pottery burial objects of the Sui and T'ang dynasties*. London 1970. No. 12.
- 5) TREGEAR, M.: *Catalogue of Chinese greenware in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*. Oxford 1976. Nos. 148, 151 and 158.
- 6) *Yüeh ch'i t'u lu*. Shanghai 1937.
- 7) WIRGIN, JAN: *Sung ceramic designs*. Stockholm 1970.
- 8) Published in *Sung ceramic designs*, Pl. 66:b where it is incorrectly said to be in the Hellner collection.
- 9) *Sung ceramic designs*, Pl. 61:a. HOBSON: *David cat.* Pl. lxxxvi.
- 10) *Sung ceramic designs*, Pl. 61:c.
- 11) POPE, J.A.: *Fourteenth-century blue-and-white a group of Chinese Porcelains in the Topkapi Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul*. Washington 1952. Pls. 9, 15, 18, 26, 28, 31, 33, 34, 36, 38 and 40.
- 12) A pair of cups of very similar type is in the Kempe Foundation. GYLLENSVÄRD, BO: *Chinese ceramics in the Kempe collection*. Stockholm 1965. No. 428.
- 13) Two similar cups are in the Kempe Foundation. Ibid. Nos. 423-24.
- 14) Cp. *Sung ceramic designs*, Pl. 38:a, Type Lc 6, p. 80.
- 15) *Special exhibition of Cultural Relics found off Sinan coast*. National Museum of Korea, Seoul 1977.
- 16) POPE, J.A.: *Chinese porcelains from the Ardebil shrine*. Washington 1956. Pls. 30-31.
- 17) Two plates of this kind, one with a scroll-border the other one with a wave-border are in the Palace Museum, Taipei. *Porcelain of the National Palace Museum. Blue-and-white ware of the Ming Dynasty*. Book II, Part 2, Pls. 59-60. In the description they are said to have 14 flowers also on the inside which is easily figured out by counting that they have not.
- 18) National Palace Museum. *Blue-and-white ware of the Ming dynasty*. Book I. Pl. 23 (p. 84). *Chinese and Japanese ceramics from the collection of Sir Harry and Lady Garner*. Bluett & Sons Ltd. London 1973. Pl. XI. MEDLEY, M.: *Illustrated catalogue of porcelains decorated in underglaze blue and copper red in the Percival David Foundation*. London 1963. No. A 601.
- 19) POPE, *op.cit.* Pl. 36.
- 20) BRANKSTON, A.D.: *Early Ming wares of Chingte-chen*. Peking 1938. Pl. 10:c.
- 21) National Palace Museum. *Blue-and-white of the Ming dynasty*. Book II, Part 2, Pl. 40.
- 22) *Selected masterpieces of the Matsuoka Museum of Art*. Tokyo 1975. Pl. 61.
- 23) For examples of this type see: MEDLEY (*op.cit.* our note 18) No. 600; and National Palace Museum. *Blue-and-white of the Ming dynasty*. Book II, Part 1, Pl. 10. An example of the other type is illustrated in the catalogue of the O.C.S. exhibition *Chinese blue and white porcelain*. London 1953-54. No. 91.
- 24) For the Sedgwick cup see the O.C.S. exhibition catalogue mentioned in note 23 above (No. 84) and for the National Palace Museum example *op.cit.* Book II, Part 1, Pl. 13.
- 25) National Palace Museum. *Blue-and-white of the Ming dynasty*. Book II, Part 1, Pl. 19. *Blue and white porcelain from the collection of Mrs. Alfred Clark*. Spink & Son. London 1974. No. 13. HOBSON, *David catalogue*, Pl. CXXII. VALENSTEIN, G.S.: *Ming porcelains*. New York 1971. No. 11 (Cole coll.). *Ming porcelain in the Freer Gallery of Art*. Washington 1953. Pl. 16. *Mauyama 70 years*. Vol. I. Tokyo 1976. No. 776.
- 26) *Ming blue-and-white*. M.F.E.A. exhibition catalogue no. 1, 1964. No. 30.
- 27) Examples are in the David Foundation (MEDLEY, *op.cit.* No. A 646) in the British Museum, in the E. Bernat coll. (VALENSTEIN, *op.cit.*, No. 23) in the Gementemuseum in the Hague (JANSEN, B.: *Chinese ceramics*. No. 138) in the Luff collection (O.C.S. Ming exh.cat. 1957, No. 132) and in the Ataka collection (*Masterpieces of old Chinese ceramics from Ataka collection*. 1975. No. 87.).

²⁸) Examples are in the David Foundation (MEDLEY, *op.cit.* No. A 644), in the Ataka collection (*op.cit.* No. 89) in the former Fredrick M. Mayer coll. (Christie's sale June 24 1974, No. 98) and one earlier in the Seligman coll. is now in the British Museum.

²⁹) One almost identical jar from the Lauritzen collection is already in the M.F.E.A. (M.F.E.A. Exh.cat. No. 3, *Sung-Ming*. Stockholm 1965. No. 47) others are in the David Foundation (HOBSON, *David cat.* Pl. CXLII), the Freer Gallery (*Freer Ming porcelains*, Pl. 29), the National Palace Museum (*Blue-and-white ware of the Ming dynasty*. Book IV, Pl. 4 (p50)) and in the Paul A. J. Spheres coll. (VALENSTEIN, *op.cit.* No. 61).

^{29 a}) *Re-grouping 15th century blue and white*. T.O.C.S. Vol. 34, 1964, p. 83.

³⁰) *Chinese ceramics in the Kempe collection*. No. 671.

³¹) One dish of this kind from the collection of Gustav VI Adolf is in the M.F.E.A. (*Ming blue-and-white*. M.F.E.A. exh.cat. no. 1, No. 9).

³²) *Mayuyama 70 years*. Tokyo 1976. Vol. 1. No. 750.

³³) POPE, *Ardebil collection*. Pl. 112 (lower).

³⁴) *Chinese ceramics in the Kempe collection*. No. 680.

³⁵) *Ku kung po wu yüan ts'ang tz'u hsüan chi*. Peking 1962. Pl. 58.

³⁶) National Palace Museum. *Monochrome wares of the Ming dynasty*. Book II. Pl. 1 (p. 118). *Chinese ceramics in the Kempe collection*. Nos. 687-88.

³⁷) A similar phoenix decorated jar is in the Baur collection (AYERS, J.: *The Baur collection. Chinese ceramics*. Vol. II. Genève 1969. No. A 169) and one with dragon design is in the Fogg Art Museum (VALENSTEIN, *op.cit.* No. 51).

³⁸) *Monochrome ceramics of Ming and Ch'ing dynasties*. Hong Kong Museum of Art. H.K. 1977. No. 57.

³⁹) *Selected Masterpieces of the Matsuoka Museum of Art*. No. 73.

⁴⁰) AYERS, J. *op.cit.* Vol. II, No. A 151.

⁴¹) MEDLEY, M.: *Illustrated catalogue of Ming Polychrome wares in the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art*. London 1966. No. 759.

⁴²) A similar incense burner has been published by HOBSON in *The wares of the Ming dynasty* (Pl. 11, Fig. 1). A vase with a design very similar to that on the Lundgren incense burner, which could have formed part of an altar set was published in *Sekai Toji Zenshu*, Vol. 11. 1955. Fig. 228.

⁴³) A dish of this type is in the David Foundation (MEDLEY: *Ming polychrome wares*, No. 726).

⁴⁴) *Inaugural exhibit of the Koger Gallery/Jacksonville Art Museum*. 1973. No. 335.

⁴⁵) VALENSTEIN, *op.cit.*, No. 41 (cp. also No. 40).

⁴⁶) *Sekai Toji Zenshu*. Vol. 14. 1976. No. 233.

⁴⁷) WIRGIN: *Ming wares from the Lauritzen collection*. B.M.F.E.A. No. 37, 1965. No. 13.

⁴⁸) *Sekai Toji Zenshu*. Vol. 14. 1976. No. 88.

⁴⁹) Cp. AYERS: *Baur collection*. Vol. II. No. A 159. REIDEMEISTER, L.: *Ming-Porzellane in Schwedischen Sammlungen*. Berlin 1935. Pls. 27-28.

⁵⁰) *Sekai Toji Zenshu*. Vol. 14, 1976. Nos. 89-90.

⁵¹) Examples are in the British Museum, the Victoria & Albert Museum (HONEY, W. B.: *The Ceramic Art of China*. London 1949. Pl. 105:b), in the Tokyo National Museum and in the W. A. Evill collection (Exh. O.C.S. Ming exhibition 1957; *The Arts of the Ming dynasty*, cat.no. 211).

⁵²) *Ku Kung po wu yüan ts'ang tz'u hsüan chi*. Peking 1962. Pl. 69.

⁵³) Cp. three bowls in the Baur Collection (AYERS, J. *op.cit.* Vol. II, nos. A 254, A 255, A 256.).

⁵⁴) A similar pot with celadon glaze is in the Victoria & Albert Museum (HONEY, W. B.: *Guide to the later porcelains*. Pl. 7:a) and another one in the Metropolitan Museum (VALENSTEIN, S. G.: *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics*. New York 1975. Pl. 143). A water pot with white glaze is in the collection of Gustav VI Adolf now in the M.F.E.A. (WIRGIN, J.: *K'ang-hsi porcelain*. B.M.F.E.A. Vol. 46, 1974. Pl. 54:a) and for another one see T.O.C.S., Vol. 35. *The Arts of the Ch'ing dynasty*. No. 305. A pot with *clair-de-lune* glaze is in the Brundage collection (d'ARGENCE: *Chinese ceramics in the Avery Brundage collection*. San Francisco 1967. Pl. LXIV:D).

⁵⁵) A vase of "pilgrim flask" shape in the Baur collection (AYERS, J. *op. cit.* Vol. III, No. A 468) is of a very related form and has the same type of glaze and the unglazed base.

⁵⁶⁾ The first type is represented by a pair of bowls in the Baur collection (AYERS, J. *op.cit.*, Vol. IV nos. A 540-41) one bowl formerly in the Constantiniidi collection (JENYNS, S.: *Later Chinese Porcelain*, London 1951, Pl. LXIX:1) and one exhibited in the O.C.S. exh. *Arts of the Ch'ing dynasty* (Cat.no. 188). The second type, with the quatrefoil border, is represented by a bowl in the M.F.E.A. from the collection of the late Gustav VI Adolf, one in the British Museum (HOBSON, R. L.: *Chinese Pottery & Porcelain*, Vol. II, Pl. 116, Fig. 1), one in the Victoria & Albert Museum (HONEY: *Guide to later Chinese Porcelain*, Pl. 53:b) and a pair of bowls sold at Christie's Dec. 12th, 1977, Lot 204.

⁵⁷⁾ Two similar cups are in the David Foundation (*Ill. Catalogue of Ming Polychrome wares*, Nos. A 747 and A 746) of which no. A 747 is the one closest to the Lundgren pair.

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CATALOGUE

Pre-Sung wares

1. (Pl. 9) WINE JAR

In the shape of a bronze Hu. Of baluster shape with tall, flaring neck and slightly tapering foot.

A band of moulded relief decoration encircling the body depicts a hilly landscape with a variety of animals including boar, tiger, dragon, bird, deer, bear and dogs, and a huntsman on horseback aiming his arrow at a stag; the frieze is interspersed with two *t'ao-t'ieh* mask ring handles, one on each side.

Red earthenware covered with a dark amber-coloured lead glaze which is minutely crazed and partly iridescent. Base and interior unglazed. Spur-marks on base.

H: 37.5 cm

EASTERN HAN DYNASTY 1ST — 2ND CENTURY A. D.

Exh.: Stockholm 1928. Cat.No.17

London 1971. Cat.No. 20

Publ.: Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 2

Neave-Hill, Chinese ceramics. Pl. 15.

2. (Pl. 10) MODEL OF A BACTRIAN CAMEL

Standing with raised head on a low rectangular base. Across the back, between the humps, lies a swelling saddle bag under which the ribbed frame of the packing saddle protrudes on each side.

Hollow-cast buff pottery covered with a partially decomposed strawcoloured glaze, minutely crazed. Traces of original pigments over the glaze, especially on the saddle bag.

The flat base is unglazed and partly covered by a pinkish clay.

H: 34.5 cm

SUI DYNASTY LATE 6TH TO EARLY 7TH CENTURY

3. (Pl. 11) MODEL OF A CAPARISONED HORSE

With bent head and right foreleg raised, wearing a saddle with long, pleated saddle-cloth; standing on a low rectangular base.

Hollow-cast buff pottery with a partially decomposed straw-coloured glaze, minutely crazed. The mane, tail and trappings painted with red pigment, the eyes painted black.

Restored and retouched especially on the legs and the saddlecloth. The flat base is unglazed and partly covered by a pinkish clay.

H: 40 cm

T'ANG DYNASTY 7TH-8TH CENTURY

Exh.: Stockholm 1928. Cat. No. 130

Publ.: Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 10

4. (Pl. 12) JAR

Of ovoid shape with thickened, slanted lip; flat base.

Grey porcellanous stoneware with an irregularly crazed thick brown-black glaze over-run at one side with an area of frosted greyish-blue. The glaze covers both inside and outside as well as parts of the base and in places it forms thick drops.

H: 21.7 cm

PROBABLY HONAN PROVINCE T'ANG DYNASTY

5. (Pl. 13 a) BOX WITH COVER

Of circular shape with straight sides cut in below to meet the splayed foot-rim. Convex base. Domed cover with feather-scroll and treble ring encircling a roundel with two finely carved peony sprays.

Dark-green shiny glaze. Glazed all over except the lips of the cover and box; fired on a ring of lengthwise spurs. Grey stoneware body.

D: 13.7 cm H: 6.5 cm

YÜEH YAO 10TH CENTURY

Sung and Yüan wares

6. (Pl. 21 a) DISH

Shallow with rounded, spreading, six-lobed sides on low, straight foot. The mouth-rim is folded over in six deep foliations.

Porcelain with thin greyish-white glaze. The inside of the foot is unglazed. The glaze on the interior is very worn.

D: 11.5 cm H: 3.2 cm

TING TYPE NORTHERN SUNG DYNASTY

7. (Pl. 13 b) STEM CUP

Bell-shaped bowl, with slightly everted rim on hollow, splayed stem.

Pure white porcelain with thin greyish-white glaze. The inside of the stem and parts of the outside unglazed. Five small pointed spurs on the foot-rim and five spur-marks on the bottom inside.

D: 9.3 cm H: 6 cm

TING TYPE NORTHERN SUNG DYNASTY

8. (Pl. 14) DISH

Shallow with wide-spreading sides and low, straight foot.

The inside is covered by a freely incised design with combed details consisting of a lotus spray with rolled feather-like leaves, a large open lotus and a large leaf seen from the side, and a saggitaria.

Porcelain with ivory-toned glaze. Tear-marks on the exterior. Glazed all over except a small area on the base and probably the rim which is encased in a brown copper band.

D: 17 cm H: 4.5 cm

TING YAO NORTHERN SUNG DYNASTY

Publ.: Sung ceramic designs. Pl. 59:a

Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 24.

9. (Pl. 15) DISH

Shallow with wide-spreading six-lobed sides cut in below to meet the low, straight foot. The rim with six foliations.

The inside is covered by a freely incised design of a lotus spray and saggitaria similar to No. 8 but with only very little use of combing.

Porcelain with ivory-toned glaze. Tear-marks on the exterior. Glazed all over except probably for the rim which is encased in a dark-brown copper band.

D: 19.8 cm H: 5.5 cm

TING YAO NORTHERN SUNG DYNASTY

10. (Pl. 16) BOWL

Deep with rounded, spreading sides and slightly everted mouth. Small, shallow foot.

The inside is decorated with a freely incised sketchy design of a lotus spray and sagittaria.

Porcelain with ivory-toned glaze. Tear-marks on the exterior. Glazed all over except the mouth-rim.

D: 24 cm H: 7.4 cm

TING YAO NORTHERN SUNG DYNASTY

11. (Pl. 17) DISH

Shallow with rounded, spreading, six-lobed sides and small straight foot.

The inside is decorated with an incised and combed design showing two large ducks swimming side by side and in front of them a large lotus plant, to the right are reeds. Porcelain with ivory-toned glaze. Tear-marks on the exterior. Glazed all over except probably for the mouth-rim which is encased in a golden-brown copper band.

D: 20.7 cm H: 4.8 cm

TING YAO NORTHERN SUNG DYNASTY

Exh.: Stockholm 1949. Cat.No. 58

Venice 1954. Cat.No. 543

Publ.: Sung Ceramic Designs. Pl. 66:b.

12. (Pl. 18) VASE

Of mallet form, with barrel-shaped body, slightly curved shoulder, tall cylindrical neck and dished mouth. Very low foot-rim

Decorated round the body with a freely incised design of two archaic dragons of *ch'ih* type and a simple overlapping petal motif on the shoulder.

Porcelain with ivory-toned glaze. Tear-marks on the exterior and on the base. Glazed all over except the foot-rim and the centre of the base.

D. of base: 11.2 cm H: 27.5 cm

TING YAO LATE NORTHERN SUNG – CHIN DYNASTY

Exh.: Stockholm 1928. Cat.No. 276

Stockholm 1949. Cat.No. 53

Copenhagen 1950. Cat.No. 316

Publ.: Gyllensvard: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 22.

13. (Pl. 19) SAUCER

Shallow, with rounded, spreading sides and shallow foot.

The inside is decorated with a moulded design; in the centre a round panel with two palmette-like peonies with long pointed leaves. On the side are two phoenixes among scrolls which have taken the shape of elaborate cloud-volutes. Below the rim is an angular key-fret band.

Porcelain with ivory-toned glaze. Tear-marks on the exterior. Glazed all over except probably for the mouth-rim which is encased in a golden copper-band.

D: 17 cm H: 3.2 cm

TING YAO CHIN DYNASTY

Exh.: Stockholm 1949. Cat.No. 75

Copenhagen 1950. Cat.No. 315

Publ.: Sung Ceramic Designs. Pl. 94:a.

14. (Pl. 20) BOWL

Deep, of rounded conical shape on low foot.

Decorated inside with a moulded design of a flower in the centre and round the sides a fine and detailed design of six palmette-scrolls surrounded by different precious objects. Cloud-scroll border below the rim.

Porcelain with greyish-white glaze. Tear-marks on the outside. Glazed all over except for mouth-rim and foot-rim. Kiln-grit adhering to the base and the inside of the foot.

D: 19.5 cm H: 8.4 cm

TING TYPE CHIN - YÜAN DYNASTY

15. (Pl. 21:b) PAIR OF BOWLS

Six-lobed with rounded sides spreading to an everted six-foil rim. Small tapering foot.

Thinly-potted white porcelain with pale bluish glaze. Bases unglazed and showing the reddish-brown marks of kiln supports.

D: c. 12 cm H: c. 5 cm

CH'ING-PAI SUNG DYNASTY 11TH-12TH CENTURY

16. (Pl. 22) BOWL

Deep, with rounded sides and slightly everted rim. Low foot.

Decorated inside round the sides with an elaborate and detailed moulded design of four large peony sprays surrounded by lotus, chrysanthemum and other flowers; and in the centre wave-design.

White porcelain with a pale blue glaze. Glazed all over except for the mouth-rim, which is encased in a dark-brown copper band.

D: 21.8 cm H: 8.7 cm

CH'ING-PAI YÜAN DYNASTY

Exh.: London 1935-35. Cat.No. 939.

17. (Pl. 23:a) BOWL

Conical with everted rim and small straight foot.

Grey porcellanous stoneware with a pale lavender-blue glaze, lightly crazed. Glazed all over except for the foot-rim, which has burnt reddish-brown.

D: 11.3 cm H: 5 cm

CHÜN YAO SUNG DYNASTY 11TH-12TH CENTURY

18. (Pl. 23:b) DISH

Rounded sides and flat base. Low tapering foot.

Grey porcellanous stoneware with a pale lavender-blue glaze, lightly crazed. Glazed all over except the foot-rim.

On the base are the marks of five broken-off firing spurs.

D: 27.8 cm H: 5.5 cm

CHÜN YAO SUNG DYNASTY 13TH CENTURY

19. (Pl. 24:a) BOWL

Conical shape, with rounded sides splayed slightly at the lip. Small, straight foot-rim. Slightly convex base.

The outside is decorated with a carved band of overlapping lotus-petals.

Whitish porcelain with a rather thick, pale bluish-green glaze. Glazed all over except the foot-rim, which has burnt light brown.

D: 14.5 cm H: 6.6 cm

LUNG-CH'ÜAN YAO SUNG DYNASTY 12TH-13TH CENTURY

20. (Pl. 24:b) BOWL

Deep, of conical shape with rounded sides. Convex base. Low, slightly tapering foot. The outside is decorated with a carved band of overlapping lotus petals.

Whitish porcelain with a shiny, greyish-green glaze, darker on the inside. Glazed all over except the foot-rim, which has burnt reddish-brown.

D: 17 cm H: 8.3 cm

LUNG-CH'ÜAN YAO SUNG DYNASTY 12TH-13TH CENTURY

Exh.: Venice 1954. Cat.No. 434

Publ.: Sirén: Kinas konst. Fig. 335

Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 14.

21. (Pl. 25) BOWL

Conical shape with rounded sides. Low tapering foot and flat base.

Decorated inside with a freely incised lotus scroll encircling the sides and a flower on the bottom.

Whitish porcelain with a pale bluish-green glaze. Glazed all over, except the foot-rim.

D: 15 cm H: 6.5 cm

LUNG-CH'ÜAN YAO SUNG DYNASTY 12TH-13TH CENTURY

22. (Pl. 26:a) JAR

Potiche shape with short, straight neck and low tapering foot. The outside vertically ribbed.

Whitish porcelain with thin, pale greyish-green glaze. Glazed all over except the mouth and the foot-rim.

D. of mouth: 10 cm H: 9.5 cm

LUNG-CH'ÜAN YAO YÜAN DYNASTY LATE 13TH-EARLY
14TH CENTURY

Ming wares

23, (Pl. 26:b) INCENSE BURNER

In the shape of a bronze tripod with broad neck and two ropework handles on the flat mouth-rim. The outside is incised with a sketchy floral design.

Porcelain with crazed pea-green glaze. The interior bottom and the three feet are unglazed and have burnt a dark reddish-brown.

On the outside are three small depressions, like finger-marks, probably due to careless handling when the clay was still soft. On the inside of the neck is a spur-mark.

D. of mouth: 9.5 cm H: 8.8 cm

LUNG-CH'ÜAN YAO MING DYNASTY 14TH-15TH CENTURY

24. (Pl. 27:a) DISH

Deep, with rounded sides tapering to the rim, on low tapering foot.

Decorated in underglaze blue. On the inside with a bouquet of lotus flowers, sagittaria and other water-plants tied with a fillet, in the centre; surrounded by a composite flower scroll round the cavetto and a classic scroll border below the rim. On the outside is a similar composite flower scroll, with fourteen flowers arranged in pairs between a key-fret border below the rim and a classic scroll border round the base.

Porcelain with a slightly bluish white glaze.

The base is unglazed and partly burnt a light, reddish-brown.

D: 28 cm H: 5.4 cm

MING DYNASTY EARLY 15TH CENTURY

Exh.: Copenhagen 1950. Cat.No. 410

Publ.: Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 35.

25. (Pl. 27:b) DISH

Deep, with curved sides and flattened foliate rim on low tapering foot.

Decorated in a dark, mottled underglaze blue. In the centre inside with a composite flower scroll within a foliate panel. Round the cavetto with flower sprays arranged as roundels and round the rim a wave-border. On the outside are twelve floral sprays matching the foliation of the sides.

Porcelain with slightly greenish white glaze.

The base is unglazed and shows the fine, white paste.

D: 33.7 cm H: 6 cm

MING DYNASTY EARLY 15TH CENTURY

26. (Pl. 1) STEM CUP

With rounded spreading bowl, everted lip and tall, hollow stem.

Decorated on the outside in a dark, mottled underglaze blue with on the bowl two five-clawed dragons among clouds pursuing flaming pearls and round the base a row of lotus petal panels. Round the foot of the stem is a classic scroll border. On the sides inside is a finely incised design of two dragons among clouds, and below the rim a double ring in underglaze blue. In the centre inside is a six-character Hsüan-te mark in underglaze blue within double ring.

Porcelain with a slightly bluish white glaze. Glazed all over except for the footrim which shows the fine white paste.

H: 10.3 cm D. of mouth: 14.8 cm
MING DYNASTY HSÜAN-TE

Exh.: Copenhagen 1950. Cat.No. 482
Stockholm 1964. Cat.No. 24
Publ.: Brankston: Early Ming wares. Pl. 10:c
Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 33.



27. (Pls. 2 and 28) FLASK

Of gourd shape, with flattened globular body, tall neck with bulb shaped mouth and two strap-handles. Shallow, tapering rectangular foot.

Decorated in a light mottled underglaze blue. On one side of the body with an eight-petalled lotus rosette with the *yin-yang* symbol at the centre, the whole design surrounded by a band of chevron pattern. On the other side with a similar but more elaborate lotus rosette with a different centre, the whole design surrounded by a classic scroll border. On the upper bulb is a broad band with a composite flower scroll. At the base of each handle is a chrysanthemum spray.

Six-character horizontal Hsüan-te mark below the lip.

Porcelain with a bluish tinted glaze.

H: 25.7 cm D. of mouth: 3.3 cm
MING DYNASTY HSÜAN-TE

Exh.: Copenhagen 1950. Cat.No. 409.
Stockholm 1964. Cat.No. 26
Publ.: Sirén: Kinas konst II. Fig. 522
Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 35.

28. (Pl. 29:a) STEM CUP AND COVER

Globular body and short, spreading hollow stem. Domed cover with a small pointed knob.

Decorated in a mottled underglaze blue. Round the body with a lotus scroll between a wave-border below the rim and a row of lotus petal panels above the stem. On the foot a row of overlapping petals and a classic scroll border.

The cover has a *cash*-design in the centre, surrounded by a row of petal panels and a ring of dots. Inside the cup on the bottom is a *ling-chih* spray in a double ring.

Porcelain with a slightly greenish white glaze. Glazed all over except the neatly trimmed foot-ring which shows the fine, white paste.

H: 13.7 cm D. of mouth: 7.5 cm
MING DYNASTY HSÜAN-TE

Exh.: Venice 1954. Cat.No. 637
Stockholm 1964. Cat.No. 33.

29. (Pl. 29:b) TANKARD

Globular, with cylindrical fluted neck. Vertical handle with thumb rest. Recessed, unglazed base.

Decorated in underglaze blue, round the body with a floral wreath between a key-feet border and a broad border of classic scrolls. In the flutes on the neck with stiff upright leaves ending in spear-heads. On the back of the handle is a *ju-i* pattern and dots.

On the shoulder in front a six-character horizontal Hsüan-te mark

Porcelain with a finely crazed white glaze, which has burnt a light pinkish-grey on the lower part of the body. The unglazed base has burnt a light reddish-brown.

H: 14.3 cm D. of mouth: 7.7 cm
MING DYNASTY HSÜAN-TE

Exh.: Copenhagen 1950. Cat.No. 483

Venice 1954. Cat.No. 640

Stockholm 1964. Cat.No. 27.



30. (Pl. 30) BOWL

Conical with rounded sides and straight rim, on low, straight foot.

Decorated in a mottled underglaze blue with on the outside a wreath of peonies above a row of overlapping petals. Inside in the centre a six-petalled flower within a double ring, and double ring below rim. Six-character Hsüan-te mark within double ring on the base.

Porcelain with a clear greenish-tinted white glaze with distinct orange-peel effect.

D: 20.5 cm H: 7 cm
MING DYNASTY HSÜAN-TE

Publ.: Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 34.



31. (Pl. 3) PAIR OF BOWLS

With rounded sides and slightly everted lip, on low, almost straight foot. Slightly convex base.

Decorated outside and inside in underglaze blue with scrolls of mallow on the sides. In the centre inside is a six-petalled flower roundel.

Six-character Ch'eng-hua mark within double ring in underglaze blue on the base.

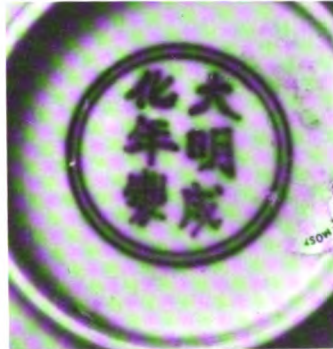
Porcelain with a clear white glaze.

D: 14.5 cm H: 7 cm

MING DYNASTY CH'ENG-HUA

Exh.: Venice 1954. Cat.No. 655

Stockholm 1964. Cat.No. 40.



32. (Pl. 31) BOWL

With rounded sides and slightly everted lip, on low tapering foot. Slightly convex base.

Decorated in underglaze blue on the exterior with large clusters of fruiting melon vine. Plain interior.

Six-character Ch'eng-hua mark within double ring in underglaze blue on the base.

Porcelain with a clear white glaze.

D: 15.3 cm H: 7 cm

MING DYNASTY CH'ENG-HUA

Exh.: Venice 1954. Cat.No. 656

Stockholm 1964. Cat.No. 39

Publ.: Sirén: Kinas konst. Fig. 533

Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 40.



33. (Pl. 32:a) LEYS JAR (*Cha tou*)

With globular body, trumpet shaped neck and flaring lip on splayed foot. Recessed base.

Decorated in underglaze blue on the outside with four five-clawed dragons among lotus scrolls and a band of *ju-i* heads round the foot. Inside the neck are two more dragons among lotus scrolls encircling the sides.

Four-character Cheng-te mark in underglaze blue within double ring on base.

Porcelain with bluish tinged white glaze. Glazed all over except the rather broad foot-rim.

H: 12.7 cm D. of mouth: 15.2 cm

MING DYNASTY CHENG-TE

Publ.: Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 42.



34. (Pl. 32:b) VASE

Square, facettted body with tall cylindrical neck with rolled lip and two loop-handles with animal masks. Spreading hollow foot which has been cut in two steps.

Decorated in underglaze blue with a scrolling morning glory. On the base is a six-character Hsüan-te mark within double ring.

Porcelain with greenish-tinted white glaze. Heavily potted.

H: 14.3 cm D. of mouth: 5.9 cm

MING DYNASTY PROBABLY AROUND 1600.

Publ.: Sirén: Kinas Konst. Fig. 523.



35. (Pl. 33) PAIR OF COVERED JARS

Of *potiche* shape, with slightly tapering short neck and shallow recessed base. The covers almost flat-topped with knob handle.

Decorated in a light, mottled underglaze blue with round the sides four lions playing with brocaded balls to which are attached long, whirling ribbons; bands of petals above and below. On the top of the covers a ring of *cash* and on the sides band of *ju-i* heads.

Porcelain with a clear, greyish white glaze. Foot-rims and rims of covers unglazed.

Six-character Chia-ching mark within double ring in underglaze blue on base.

H: 16.7 cm D. of mouth: 7 cm

MING DYNASTY CHIA-CHING



36. (Pl. 34) DISH

With lobed sides and flattened foliate rim. Thin, shallow foot.

Finely incised decoration of in the centre inside an eight-lobed panel enclosing a vine-scroll with grapes, and in each of the eight foils round the cavetto a single floral or fruit spray; round the flattened rim runs a *ling-chih* scroll. On the back of each of the eight lobes are alternating floral sprays and *ling-chih* fungi.

Porcelain covered with a transparent white glaze of a slightly greenish tint. The base is unglazed and displays a pale yellowish-white body of very fine texture.

D: 19.7 cm H: 2.5 cm

MING DYNASTY EARLY 15TH CENTURY

Exh.: Venice 1954. Cat.No. 589.

37. (Pl. 35) DISH

Deep, with spreading, rounded sides tapering to the rim, on low tapering foot.

Finely incised design of in the centre inside a lotus scroll with six flowers and round the well with a similar lotus scroll with eight flowers and a classic scroll border below the rim. On the outside is a chrysanthemum scroll with nine flowers between a key-fret border below the rim and a classic scroll border round the base. On the key-fret border below the rim is a six-character horizontal Hsüan-te mark in underglaze blue.

Thickly-potted porcelain with a white glaze of slightly greenish tint. The base is unglazed and shows a fine white body which is partly burnt to a light red and has numerous black and brown speckles.

D: 27.7 cm H: 5.3 cm
MING DYNASTY HSÜAN-TE

38. (Pl. 36) STEM CUP

With rounded spreading bowl, everted lip and tall hollow stem, slightly spreading.

Porcelain, the outside covered with a deep blue glaze. The inside of the bowl and the stem with a bluish-tinted white glaze. Unglazed foot-rim.

On the centre inside six-character Hsüan-te mark within double ring in underglaze blue.

H: 10.5 cm D. of mouth: 10.6 cm
MING DYNASTY HSÜAN-TE

Exh.: Venice 1954. Cat.No. 648.



39. (Pl. 37:a) DISH

With spreading, rounded sides tapering to the rim, on a high tapering foot. Convex base.

Porcelain with a rich dark-blue glaze which covers both outside and inside. The base and the inside of the foot-ring are covered with a slightly bluish-white transparent glaze. Six-character Hsüan-te mark within double rings in underglaze blue on the base.

The blue glaze on the interior of the dish has a small rust-coloured fleck. The blue reign mark on the base has some almost black areas. The glaze is worn especially on the interior.

D: 20.8 cm H: 4.4 cm
MING DYNASTY HSÜAN-TE



40. (Pl. 37:b) DISH

With spreading, rounded sides, on low tapering foot. Convex base.

Porcelain with a deep liver-red glaze which covers both inside and outside. The base and the inside of the foot-rim are covered with bluish-white glaze. The foot-rim is unglazed and has burnt reddish-brown at the edges.

The mouth-rim is encased in a gilt copper-band.

Six-character Hsüan-te mark within double rings incised on the base.

The glaze is quite worn, especially on the inside of the dish, and also has some white specks, caused by irregularities in the glaze.

D: 21.4 cm H: 4.5 cm

MING DYNASTY PROBABLY 16TH CENTURY

41. (Pl. 38) JAR

Of *potiche* shape with rounded sides, tapering neck and thickened lip, spreading foot and shallow recessed base. The exterior is decorated with a finely incised design covered by a turquoise blue glaze. Round the sides a lotus scroll between a band of cloud collar lappets, each enclosing a lotus spray with between them cloud motives, above and a band of lotus petal panels below; a *ju-i* border on the shoulder and cloud motives on the neck.

Heavily-potted porcelain. The inside is glazed leaf-green. Unglazed mouth rim. The unglazed base is partly covered with splashes of turquoise and green glazes.

H: 28.5 cm D: 18 cm

MING DYNASTY EARLY 16TH CENTURY

42. (Pl. 39:a) BOWL

Deep with rounded sides and slightly everted rim, on low tapering foot. Slightly convex base.

Porcelain, covered on the outside with a brilliant turquoise-blue glaze which partly shows a tear-drop effect. Inside and base white-glazed. The unglazed foot-rim is neatly trimmed and shows a fine white paste.

D: 20.4 cm H: 8.8 cm

MING DYNASTY LATE 15TH — EARLY 16TH CENTURY

43. (Pl. 39:b) BOWL

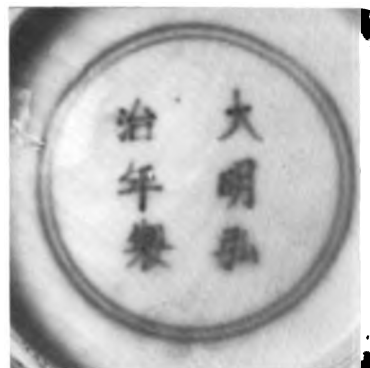
Deep, with rounded spreading sides and everted rim; low, tapering foot and convex base.

Porcelain covered inside and outside with a bright, yellow glaze. On the base six-character Hung-chih mark within double ring in underglaze blue under a bluish glaze.

D: 16 cm H: 7.2 cm

MING DYNASTY HUNG-CHIH

Exh.: Venice 1954. Cat.No. 691.



44. (Pl. 40:a) BOWL

With flaring sides moulded in ten lobes. Shallow foot and slightly convex base.

Porcelain with greyish white glaze on the interior and the exterior. The base has a bluish glaze.

Four-character Cheng-te mark in underglaze blue within double ring on the base.

D: 19.2 cm H: 5 cm

MING DYNASTY CHENG-TE



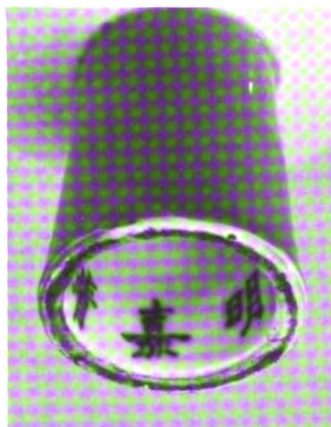
45. (Pl. 40:b) STEM CUP

With rounded spreading bowl, everted lip and tall, hollow, spreading stem.

Faintly traced, incised *an-hua* design of a floral spray on the inside of the bowl and a composite flower scroll above a row of lotus petal panels on the outside.

Porcelain, covered inside and out with a light, mottled yellow glaze. The inside of the hollow stem covered by a bluish glaze. Unglazed foot-rim. A six-character horizontal Chia-ching mark is written round the inside of the stem in underglaze blue. Small repairs in gold lacquer on the lip.

H: 12.2 cm D. of mouth: 13.7 cm
MING DYNASTY CHIA-CHING



46. (Pl. 41:a) JAR

Ovoid, with short neck; shallow, recessed base.

On the outside is a finely incised design of two phoenixes with long flame-like tails flying among clouds, with a row of lotus petal panels below and a border of *ju-i* heads on the shoulder.

Porcelain with a deep blue glaze on the outside and a bluish white glaze on the interior and on the base.

Six-character Chia-ching mark within double ring in underglaze blue on base.

H: 10.1 cm D. of mouth: 6.5 cm
MING DYNASTY CHIA-CHING



47. (Pl. 41:b) BOWL

With rounded, spreading sides and everted lip. Low tapering foot and convex base.

Porcelain, covered inside and outside with a mottled dark blue glaze. Bluish-tinted white glaze on base.

Six-character Chia-ching mark within double ring on base.

D: 15 cm H: 7 cm

MING DYNASTY CHIA-CHING



48. (Pl. 42:a) BOWL

Shallow with spreading, rounded sides and everted thickened lip. Shallow foot and slightly convex base.

Thickly-potted porcelain covered with a pale green celadon glaze. The base covered with a bluish white glaze. Eight characters *Wan li hsin mao ju ch'eng chia ts'ang* (made for the Ju-ch'eng family in the hsin mao year of Wan-li) in underglaze blue within double ring on base. Foot-rim and two small areas on the lip unglazed.

D: 13.3 cm H: 4.4 cm

MING DYNASTY WAN-LI A.D. 1591



49. (Pl. 42:b) BOTTLE

In the form of a narrow-waisted, octagonal gourd with tall cylindrical neck; very shallow foot-rim and slightly recessed base.

Moulded design of formal chrysanthemum flowers round the upper part, leaf lappets at the waist and stiff floral sprays round the body, above a band of formalized flowers.

Porcelain with a greyish green celadon glaze. Unglazed base.

H: 18.7 cm

MING DYNASTY 17TH CENTURY

50. (Pl. 4) FISH BOWL

With spreading, rounded sides curving inwards at the thickened, rounded mouth-rim. Slightly concave base.

Covered inside and out with a brilliant turquoise blue glaze, partly mottled with darker blue spots and streaks especially on the interior. The glaze partly shows a fine crazing and has a tendency to flake off which can be seen on the bottom inside and around the base.

Heavily-potted porcelain. There is a thin lengthwise crack around the outside where the two parts of the vessel have been joined. The base is unglazed and partly covered with a brownish dressing.

D. of mouth: 31.5 cm H: 28.5 cm

MING DYNASTY FIRST HALF 17TH CENTURY

51. (Pl. 43:a) JAR

Ovoid with low tapering neck. Recessed base.

Encircling the outside is a deeply incised design of stiff, formalized flower scrolls with rows of lotus petal panels below and on the shoulder.

Porcelain with, on the outside, a light amber yellow glaze. Inside and base with greyish white glaze. Unglazed foot-rim which has burnt a light red.

H: 10.2 cm

MIDDLE 17TH CENTURY

52. (Pl. 43:b) PAIR OF CUPS

With spreading, rounded sides and everted lip; on small tapering foot.

The sides modelled in open-work (*ling-lung*) with roundels and diaper pattern. Incised panels above the foot.

Porcelain with pure white glaze. Base and foot-rim unglazed.

The interior lined with silver.

D: 9.2 cm H: 5.2 cm

17TH CENTURY

Exh.: Stockholm 1928. Cat.No. 392-93.

53. (Pl. 5) JAR

Of ovoid *potiche* shape with tapering neck and thickened lip; spreading foot and shallow recessed base.

The designs are outlined in applied porcelain *cloisons* with incised details, and coloured in turquoise blue, pale yellow and white on a ground of deep purplish-blue. Round the sides two pairs of peafowl are depicted among garden rocks and flowering tree-peonies, between a frieze of pendant jewels linked with beaded strings above and a band of lotus petal panels below; a *ju-i* border on the shoulder and cloud motives on the neck.

Heavily-potted porcelain. The inside is glazed white. The unglazed base is partly covered with splashes of green glaze.

H: 36.2 cm D: 18 cm

MING DYNASTY LATE 15TH CENTURY

From the Stubel collection.

Publ.: Reidemeister, Tafel 59.

Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 50.

54. (Pl. 44) INKSTONE

In the shape of bearded scholar dressed in cap, long robe and high boots. His open mouth forms the receptacle for the water and the unglazed chest and belly the grinding surface.

Brownish stoneware with coloured glazes in turquoise blue, yellow, aubergine and black.

The flat, unglazed base has a round perforation into the hollow inside.

L: 16 cm

MING DYNASTY 15TH-16TH CENTURY

Publ.: Reidemeister, Tafel 62.

55. (Pl. 45) INCENSE BURNER

In bronze form, square with four feet and two curved side handles. There are two animal heads in relief below the handles.

The designs are outlined in applied porcelain *cloisons* with incised details and coloured in turquoise, light yellow and white on a ground of deep, purplish-blue. Decorated on two sides with a floral spray and on the other two sides with a butterfly. On the front and the back of the neck is a scroll ornament.

Heavily-potted porcelain; inside and bottom of feet unglazed. The inside of the mouth and neck partly covered with splashes of white and green glaze. The neck is pierced with a small round hole under each handle.

H: 15.7 cm D: 8.7 cm

MING DYNASTY 16TH CENTURY

Exh.: Stockholm 1928. Cat.No. 372.

Publ.: Reidemeister, Tafel 61.

Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 51.

56. (Pl. 46:a) BOWL

Deep, with rounded, rising sides on low, tapering foot.

The designs are incised and covered with a green glaze on an amber-yellow glazed ground. In the centre inside a round medallion with schematized peach tree in the form of a *shou* character with *ling-chih* fungi on the sides. Round the outside there are three similar *shou*-shaped peach trees with *ling-chih* in between.

The porcelain body is glazed all over with the amber-yellow glaze, leaving only small parts of the foot-rim unglazed.

Six-character Chia-ching mark, in black under the glaze, on the base.

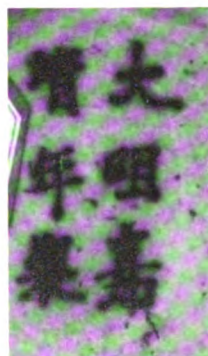
D: 16.5 cm H: 8.8 cm

MING DYNASTY CHIA-CHING

Exh.: Venice 1954. Cat.No. 718.

Publ.: Reidemeister, Tafel 32.

Gyllensvärd, Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 52.



57. (Pl. 46:b) SAUCER

With spreading, rounded sides and everted lip, low tapering foot and convex base.

The designs are incised and covered with a green glaze on an amber-yellow glazed ground. In the centre a round medallion with a peach-tree, shaped like the character *shou* surrounded by two *ling-chih* fungi. Round the outside two similar *shou*-shaped peach trees with *ling-chih* in between.

Porcelain. The base with a bluish white glaze.

Six-character Chia-ching mark in underglaze blue on base.

D: 14.6 cm H: 2.8 cm

MING DYNASTY CHIA-CHING

Exh.: Venice 1954. Cat.No. 717.



58. (Pl. 47:a) SAUCER DISH

With rounded, spreading sides and everted lip, low slightly tapering foot.

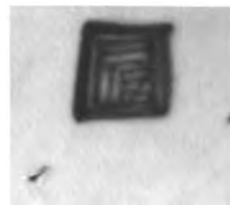
Decorated with designs outlined in black enamel and filled in with a bright, turquoise enamel. in the centre inside a *ch'i-lin* surrounded by a formalized leaf-scroll, on the outside two more *ch'i-lin* with leaf scrolls.

Porcelain with a greyish white, unctuous glaze. Rough, unglazed foot-rim. Square shop-mark in underglaze blue on the base.

Swatow type. Fukien province.

D: 15 cm H: 3.7 cm

MING DYNASTY EARLY 16TH CENTURY



59. (Pl. 47:b) BOWL

Deep, of square shape with slightly rounded, spreading sides and flared rim. Low, square foot.

Painted in red, green, yellow and sepia enamels, the designs are enclosed by double lines in underglaze blue. In the centre inside square medallion with five-clawed dragon and *ling-chih*; *ling-chih* scroll border below the rim. Round the outside four five-clawed dragons among *ling-chih* sprays and a border of *ju-i* heads above the foot.

Porcelain with greyish-blue tinged white glaze.

Six-character Chia-ching mark in underglaze blue on base.

D: 13.4 cm H: 7.2 cm

MING DYNASTY CHIA-CHING



60. (Pl. 48) JAR

Ovoid, with short, tapering neck. Shallow recessed base.

Decorated on the outside in red and green enamels with a broad band with entwined branches of pine and prunus over a border of petal panels. On the

shoulder is a band with stiff floral roundels and prunus flowers reserved on a red ground, with a band of pointed leaves below and another band at the rim.

Porcelain with bluish white glaze.

On the base four characters *Wan fu yu t'ung* (May infinite happiness embrace you) in underglaze blue within double ring, written around a square and thus giving the appearance of a *cash-coin*.

H: 13.8 cm D. of mouth: 7.7 cm
MING DYNASTY CHIA-CHING

Publ.: Reidemeister, Tafel 24.



61. (Pl. 49) PAIR OF STEM CUPS

Rounded, spreading bowl, everted lip and hollow, spreading stem.

Painted in red, green and yellow enamels with round the outside two five-clawed dragons pursuing flaming pearls among clouds above waves. On the stem cloud motifs. Centred inside four character mark *Chao fu chih yung* (Made for the use of the Chao family) within double ring in red enamel.

Porcelain with greyish white glaze. Footring and inside of stem unglazed.

H: 10.4 cm D: 13.6 cm 14 cm
MING DYNASTY FIRST HALF 16TH CENTURY



62. (Pl. 6) JAR

Ovoid, with short neck and thickened lip. Recessed base.

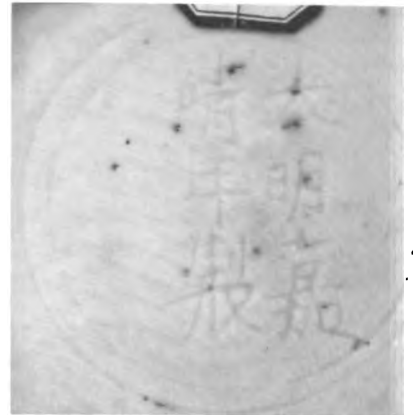
Painted in red, green and yellow enamels, with round the body a detailed scene with an official and several other armed horsemen galloping outside a city wall at the gate of which stands an attendant with a standard. On the shoulder a band of triangular lappets alternatively filled with swastika-diaper and a reserved prunus flower on a wave ground; between the lappets are lotus flowers and below the rim a row of overlapping petals. Above the foot a lotus scroll.

Porcelain with greyish white glaze. Unglazed, rather rough footrim, some kiln-grit adhering to the foot and the glazed base.

Six-character Chia-ching mark within double ring incised under the glaze on the base.

H: 28.7 cm D: 11 cm
MING DYNASTY CHIA-CHING

From the M. Erdmann collection. New York
Publ.: Sirén: Kinas Konst. Fig. 541.



63. (Pl. 50) JAR

Of *potiche* shape with rounded sides and tapering neck with thickened lip. Shallow, recessed base.

Painted in red, green and yellow enamels with round the side an extended scene depicting a landscape with two mounted scholars with attendants, one of them carrying a banner and one blowing a trumpet leads the procession and several other follows behind; further on is another group of three horsemen riding towards a pavillion with two women surrounded by *ju-i* shaped cloud-scrolls. At the base is a band of lotus petal panels with a row of painted leaves above, and on the shoulder a broad band with cranes flying among lotus scrolls. Round the neck is a lotus scroll band.

Heavily-potted porcelain with bluish white glaze. Unglazed base.

H: 30 cm D: 7.5 cm
MING DYNASTY 16TH CENTURY

Publ.: Reidemeister, Tafel 23.
Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 49.

64. (Pl. 7) JAR

Of *potiche* shape, with short, straight neck. Recessed base.

On the outside an incised design coloured with amber-yellow glaze on a bright green ground. Round the sides are four quatrefoil panels containing five-clawed dragons with a flaming pearl among clouds with rocks and waves below. Between the panels are the Eight Buddhist Emblems. Below is a border with eight floral sprays, and round the shoulder one of lotus petal panels.

Porcelain with a bluish white glaze on the inside and the base.

Six-character Wan-li mark in underglaze blue within double ring on base.

H: 17.6 cm D. of mouth: 9.3 cm

MING DYNASTY WAN-LI

From the M. Erdmann Collection. New York.

Exh.: Venice 1954. Cat.No. 716.



65. (Pl. 51:a) TEA POT AND COVER

Ovoid body, low neck with thickened lip; shallow foot and recessed base. Curved handle, and a short spout which is repaired and probably ground down. Domed cover with knob.

Porcelain painted in enamels on the biscuit.

The design is painted in aubergine, yellow and white outlined in black on a green ground and shows round the body two *hai-ma* (sea-horses) among waves sprinkled with prunus blossoms and six auspicious emblems, over rocks. On top of the lid are two more emblems and prunus flowers.

Foot-rim, inside of cover and inside unglazed. The base covered with a thin white glaze.

H: 14.7 cm D: 7.5 cm

MIDDLE 17TH CENTURY

Publ.: Reidemeister, Tafel 64.

Gyllensvärd, Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 53.

Ch'ing wares

66. (Pl. 51:b) BRUSH-REST

In the shape of five pointed mountain peaks.

Porcelain covered with a brilliant turquoise-blue glaze. The foot-rim and the hollow interior unglazed.

H: 9.6 cm L: 14.4 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY K'ANG-HSI

67. (Pl. 52:a) WATER POT

Of cut-off conical shape, with rounded sides tapering towards the mouth. Shallow foot and recessed base.

Decorated round the sides with cloud scrolls modelled in white slip under a pale green celadon glaze which covers the exterior and interior.

Heavily-potted porcelain.

Six-character K'ang-hsi mark in underglaze blue on base.

H: 7.4 cm D. of mouth: 4 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY K'ANG-HSI

Publ.: Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 57.



68. (Pl. 53) VASE

With melon-shaped, six-lobed body, short trumpet-shaped neck with flared mouth and recessed base.

The inside and outside are covered with a pale green celadon glaze. Heavily potted porcelain. Unglazed base.

H: 14.7 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY K'ANG-HSI

From the E. and J. Baerwald collection, Berlin.

Exh.: Berlin 1929. Cat.No. 854.

Publ.: Sirén: Kinas konst. Fig. 591.

69. (Pl. 54) VASE

Of slender *mei-p'ing* shape with sides tapering and spreading at the foot. Low tubular neck; shallow foot and recessed base.

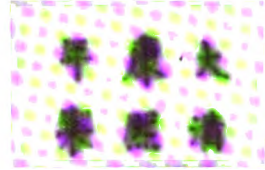
Round the shoulder a band of *ju-i* heads in moulded relief. The outside is covered with a pale blue "*clair de lune*" glaze. Heavily potted porcelain. Interior and base glazed white.

Six-character K'ang-hsi mark in underglaze blue on base.

H: 20.8 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY K'ANG-HSI

Publ.: Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 58.



70. (Pl. 55) VASE

Baluster-shaped with ovoid body spreading at the foot, and tall cylindrical neck, starting at a rib, first narrowing and then spreading towards the mouth. Neatly made inset foot-ring and concave base.

The outside is covered with a pale blue "*clair de lune*" glaze. Heavily-potted porcelain. Inside and base are glazed white.

Six-character K'ang-hsi mark in underglaze blue on base.

H: 26.6 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY K'ANG-HSI



71. (Pl. 52:b) VASE

With pear-shaped body and tall tubular neck with flared rim. Low spreading foot.

The outside covered with a pale lavender-blue "*clair de lune*" glaze. Heavily-potted porcelain. Inside and base glazed white.

H: 14 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY K'ANG-HSI

72. (Pl. 56:b) CUP

Deep, with rounded sides and everted lip; low, tapering foot.

On the sides *an hua* design of two five-clawed dragons among clouds faintly drawn under the glaze and visible from the inside, when held against a strong light.

Porcelain with bluish white glaze which covers the whole cup.
Six-character Yung-lo mark within double ring in underglaze blue on base.

D: 9.5 cm H: 5 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY K'ANG-HSI



73. (Pl. 56:a) CUP

With rounded spreading sides rising at the rim; small, tapering foot.
Covered inside and out with a plain greyish-white glaze.

Thinly-potted porcelain.

Six-character Yung-cheng mark within ring in underglaze blue on base.

D: 9.2 cm H: 4.1 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY YUNG-CHENG



74. (Pl. 56:c) PAIR OF BOWLS

Moulded in the shape of an open flower, with rounded, spreading sides and everted foliated rim; straight foot. On the inside two concentric ranks of petals with combed details round the seed-pod in the centre, on the outside two similar ranks of petals.

Thinly-potted porcelain with a plain greyish-white glaze.

Six-character Yung-cheng mark in underglaze blue within double ring on base.

D: 9.4 cm H: 4.7 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY YUNG-CHENG



75. (Pl. 57:a) PAIR OF BOWLS

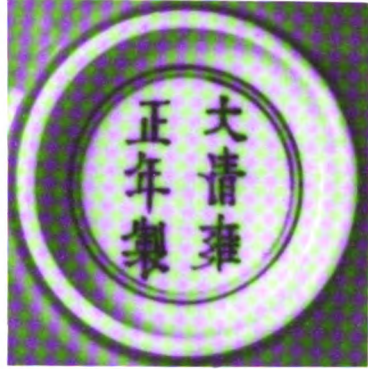
With spreading, rounded sides gently turned out at the lip. Low, almost straight foot.

The outside is covered with a lustrous lavender-blue glaze. Porcelain with a very fine white paste. The inside and the base covered with a slightly greenish white glaze.

Six-character Yung-cheng mark within double ring in underglaze blue on the base.

D: 12 cm H: 5.5 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY YUNG-CHENG



76. (Pl. 57:b) FLOWER BOWL

Round, with spreading straight sides, on five low, shaped feet.

Covered inside and out with a lustrous "sky blue" glaze which in the centre inside shows a fine wide crackle.

Heavily-potted porcelain. Unglazed, slightly convex base covered with a light brown dressing.

D: 36 cm H: 7 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY YUNG-CHENG

77. (pl. 58:a) PAIR OF CUPS

With rising, spreading sides everted at the rim and rounded below; low foot.

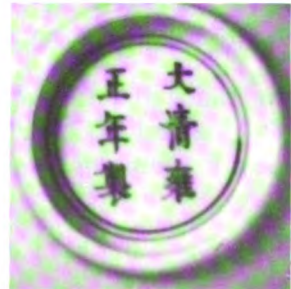
The outside covered with a bright lemon-yellow glaze. Inside and base glazed white.

Thinly-potted porcelain.

Six-character Yung-cheng mark in underglaze blue within double ring on base.

D: 9.2 cm H: 6 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY YUNG-CHENG



78. (Pl. 58:b) PAIR OF CUPS

With rounded spreading sides rising at the rim; small tapering foot.

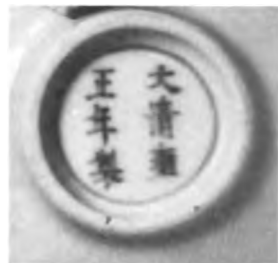
The outside covered with a clear lemon-yellow glaze. Inside and base glazed white.

Thinly-potted porcelain.

Six-character Yung-cheng mark within ring on base.

D: 9.1 cm H: 4 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY YUNG-CHENG



79. (Pl. 59:a) PAIR OF WINE CUPS

With rounded spreading sides rising at the rim; small tapering foot.

The outside covered with a bright lemon-yellow glaze.

Inside and base glazed white.

Thinly-potted porcelain.

Four-character Yung-cheng mark within double square on base.

D: 6.3 cm H: 3.1 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY YUNG-CHENG



80. (Pl. 59:b) PAIR OF WINE CUPS

With rounded spreading sides rising at the rim; small almost straight foot.

The outside covered with a slightly mottled coral-red glaze. The inside and base are glazed white. Thinly-potted porcelain.

Six-character Yung-cheng mark within ring in underglaze blue on base.

D: 6.6 cm H: 3.5 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY YUNG-CHENG



81. (Pl. 60:a) JAR

Of baluster shape with short neck and rather high spreading foot. (The domed cover with a knob has unfortunately been lost recently.) Two horizontal loop-handles and a rectangular perforation on the foot on two sides. The hollow foot has a stepped base.

Rather heavily potted porcelain covered inside and out with a pale green celadon glaze. Neatly trimmed foot-rim. Six-character Yung-cheng mark in seal-script in underglaze blue on base.

H: 13.2 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY YUNG-CHENG

From the E. and J. Baerwald collection. Berlin.

Exh.: Berlin 1929. Cat.No. 857.

Publ.: Schmidt: Chinesische Keramik. Tafel 103c.

Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 75.



82. (Pl. 60:b) BOWL

Of conical shape with spreading sides and everted, flattened foliate rim; small splayed foot. The sides are moulded inside with a chrysanthemum petal pattern, and there is a moulded band of chrysanthemum petals encircling the foot.

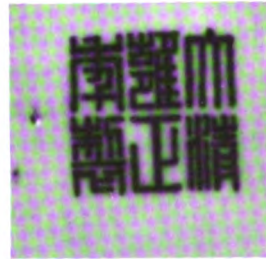
Heavily-potted porcelain covered with a pale green celadon glaze. The foot-rim neatly trimmed and showing the fine white paste.

Six-character Yung-cheng mark in seal-script in underglaze blue on base.

D: 26.2 cm H: 8 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY YUNG-CHENG

Publ.: Sirén: Kinas konst. Fig. 618.



83. (Pl. 61) VASE

Of ovoid eight-lobed form with short neck and flared mouth with foliate lip; spreading eight-foil foot and recessed base. The outside and the inside of the mouth and neck are covered with a rich turquoise blue glaze, minutely crazed.

Heavily-potted porcelain. Base and inside unglazed.

H: 23.5 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY CH'IEN-LUNG

84. (Pl. 62:a) WATER POT

In the shape of a fruiting melon vine, with three melons and leaves. Rounded oblong aperture on the top.

Heavily-potted porcelain with green, yellow and aubergine glazes. The underside is flattened and has three small firing spurs.

L: 7.5 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY K'ANG-HSI

85. (Pl. 62:b) PAIR OF BOWLS

With spreading, rounded sides and everted lip; straight foot. The outside is decorated with a finely incised design of playing children on a garden terrace, between borders of petal panels below and symmetrical floral motives above, picked out in green on a ground of yellow glaze that also covers the inside.

Fine white porcelain which shows a slight orange tint on the unglazed foot-rim. The base covered with a bluish white glaze.

Six-character Yung-cheng mark in underglaze blue within double ring on base.

D: 15.2 cm H: 7 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY YUNG-CHENG

Exh.: Stockholm 1928. Cat.No. 451-52.

Publ.: Sirén: Kinas konst. Fig. 698.

Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 74.



86. (Pl. 63:a) PAIR OF WINE CUPS

Deep, with rounded sides and everted lip; low, straight foot.

Decorated on the outside in the *tou-ts'ai* style in underglaze blue and overglaze green, red and pale aubergine enamels with a design of fruiting vine and another fruit tree. Plain inside.

Thinly-potted porcelain with a slightly bluish glaze.

Six-character Ch'eng-hua mark within double rectangle in underglaze blue on base.

H: 4.8 cm D: 7.6 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY 18TH CENTURY

Publ.: Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 39.



87. (Pl. 63:b) PAIR OF CUPS

Deep, with spreading, rounded sides. Very low foot-rim and slightly recessed base.

Decorated on the outside with flowering tree-peonies and bamboo sprays in opaque enamels in pink, blue, green, brownish-yellow, violet and other colours on a mottled, bright yellow ground. Inside and base glazed white. Fine white porcelain.

Four-character mark *K'ang-hsi yü chih* (Made by Imperial Order in the K'ang-hsi period) in blue enamel within a double square on base.

H: 4.2 cm D: 6.5 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY PROBABLY LATE 18TH CENTURY



88. (Pl. 8) DISH

Of saucer shape with spreading, rounded sides and everted lip; slightly tapering foot.

Painted in *famille rose* enamels in a finely-executed design that begins on the outside, comprising flowering branches of tree-peony, magnolia and pomegranate spreading round the sides, and further branches continuing over the rim to cover the inside. There are also two butterflies on the inside.

Thinly-potted porcelain with pure white glaze.

Six-character Yung-cheng mark in underglaze blue within double ring on base.

D: 16 cm H: 3.7 cm

CH'ING DYNASTY YUNG-CHENG

From the Russell Collection.

Publ.: Hobson: The later ceramic wares of China. Plate LVII.

Gyllensvärd: Kinesisk keramik. Fig. 71.

Sirén: Kinas konst. Fig. 615.



89. (Pl. 64) DISH

Of saucer shape with rounded, spreading sides; slightly tapering foot and convex base.

The outside is covered with an opaque crimson-pink enamel. On the inside a finely-executed detailed design, painted in a full palette of *famille rose* enamels, of an intricately woven basket full of different flowers, tree-peony, pomegranate, chrysanthemum etc. and behind is a large "Buddha's-hand" citron and another fruit.

Fine white porcelain, which shows a slight orange tint on the unglazed foot-rim, covered with a slightly bluish white glaze.

Six-character Yung-cheng mark within double ring in underglaze blue on base.

D: 29.7 cm H: 5.8 cm

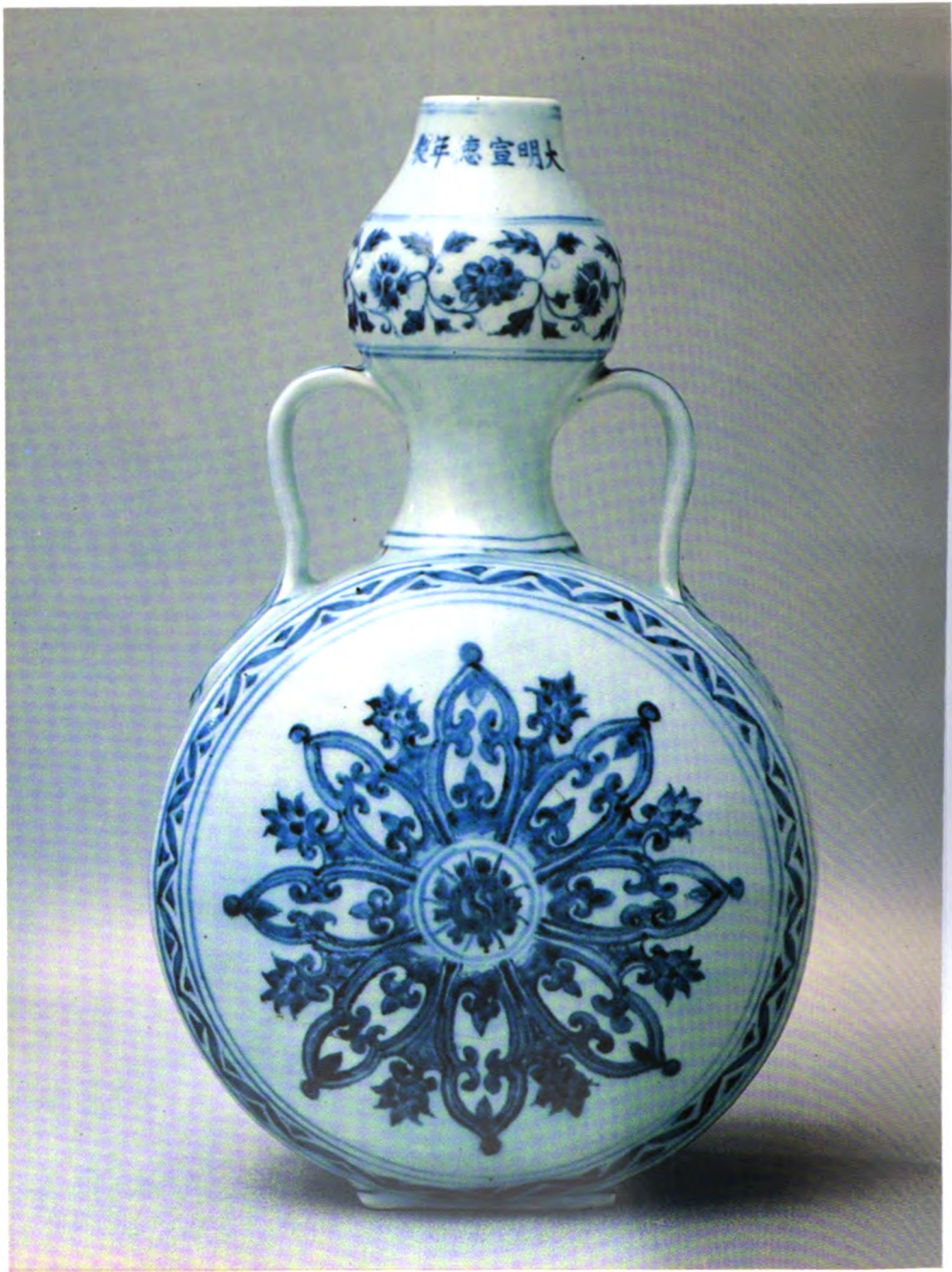
CH'ING DYNASTY YUNG-CHENG



PLATES



No. 26



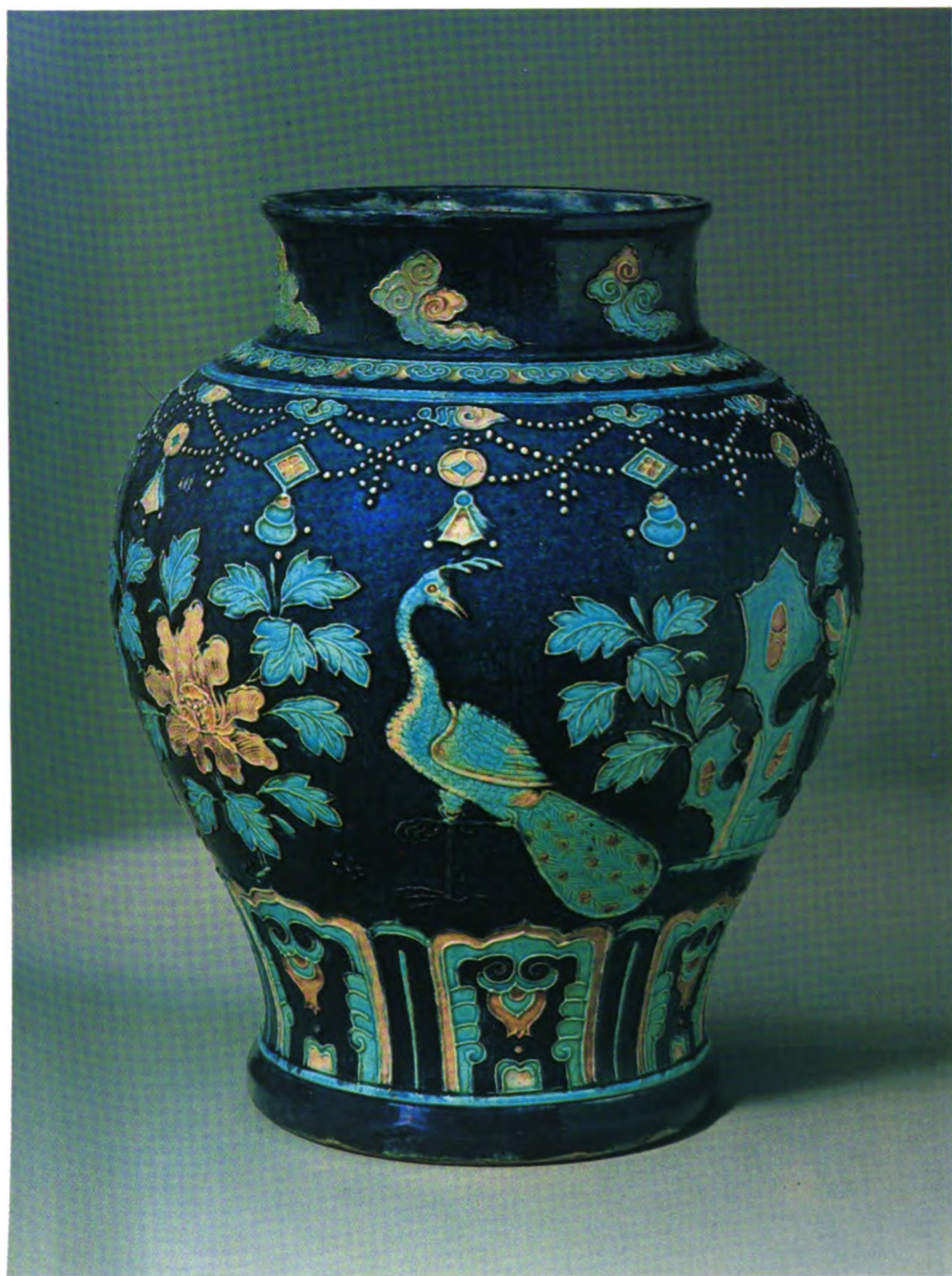
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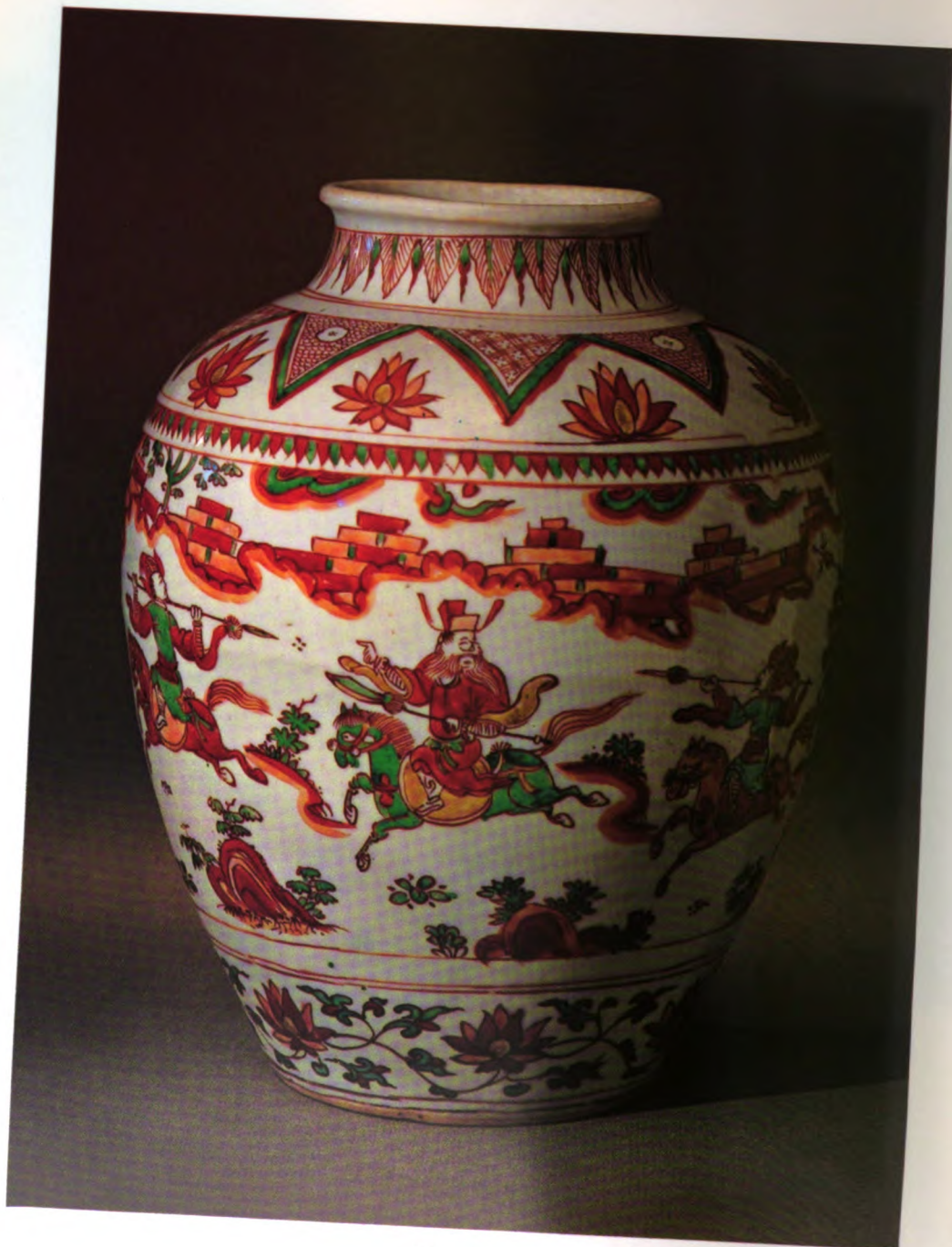
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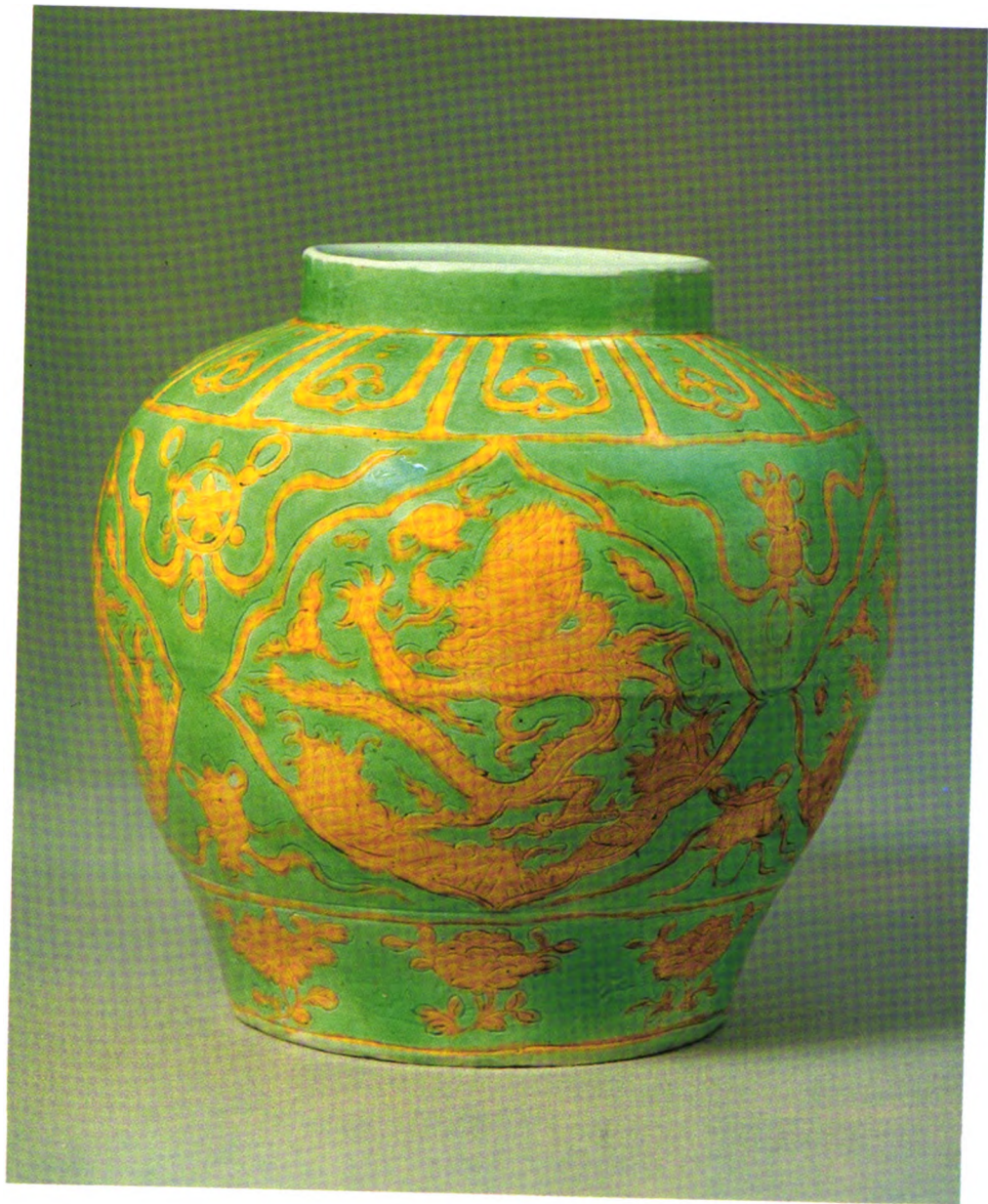
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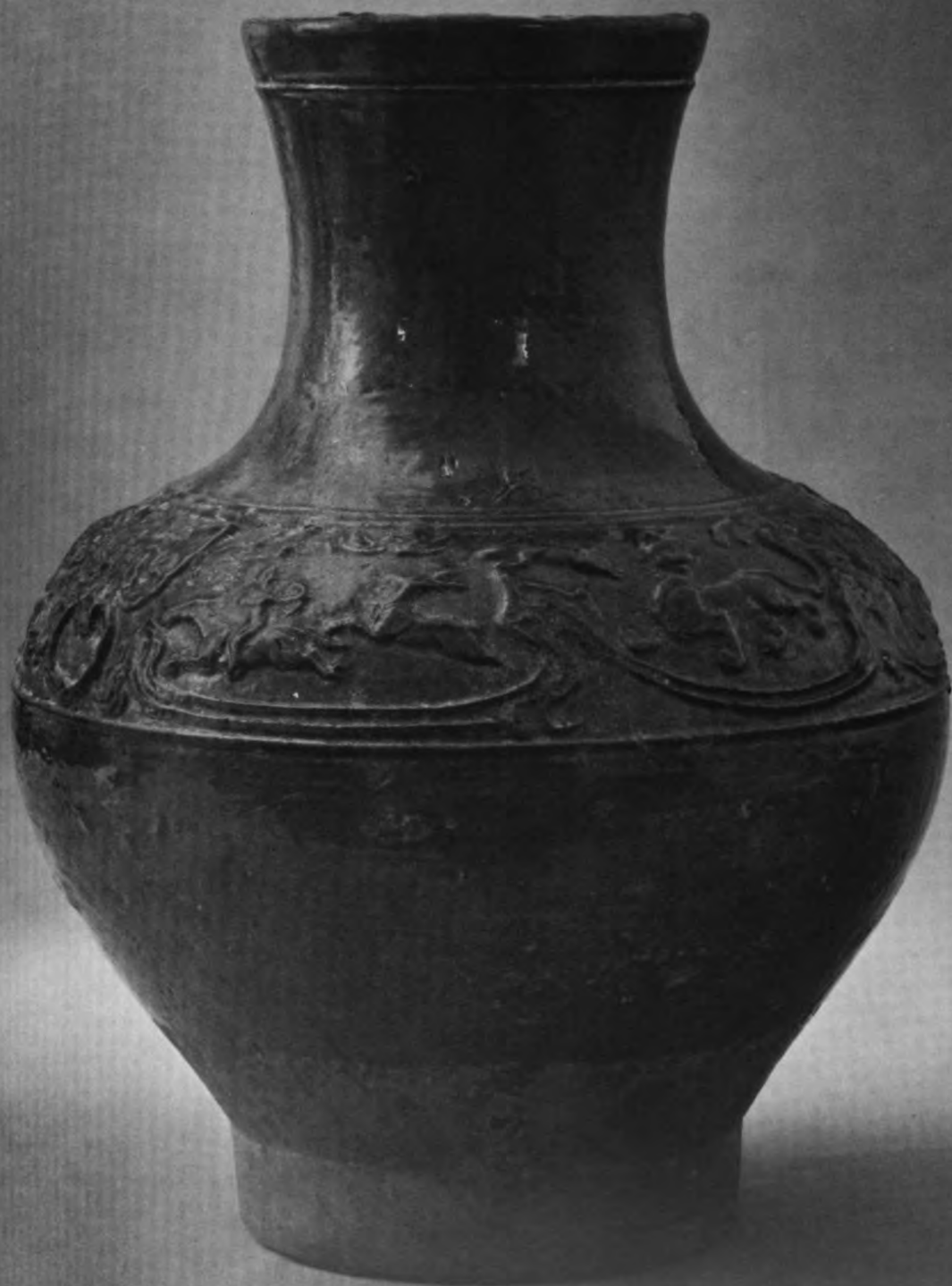
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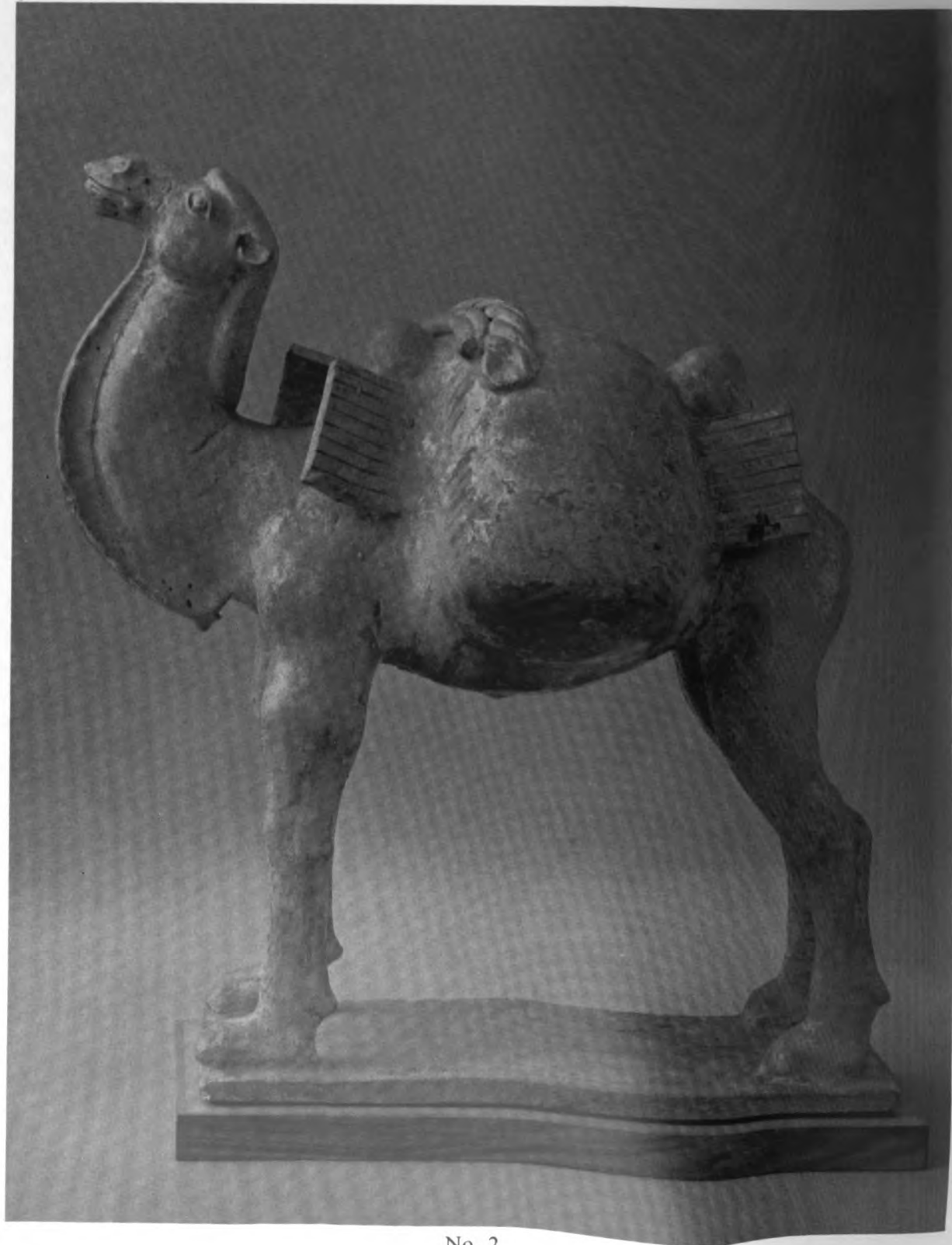
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No. 88



No. 1



No. 2



No. 3

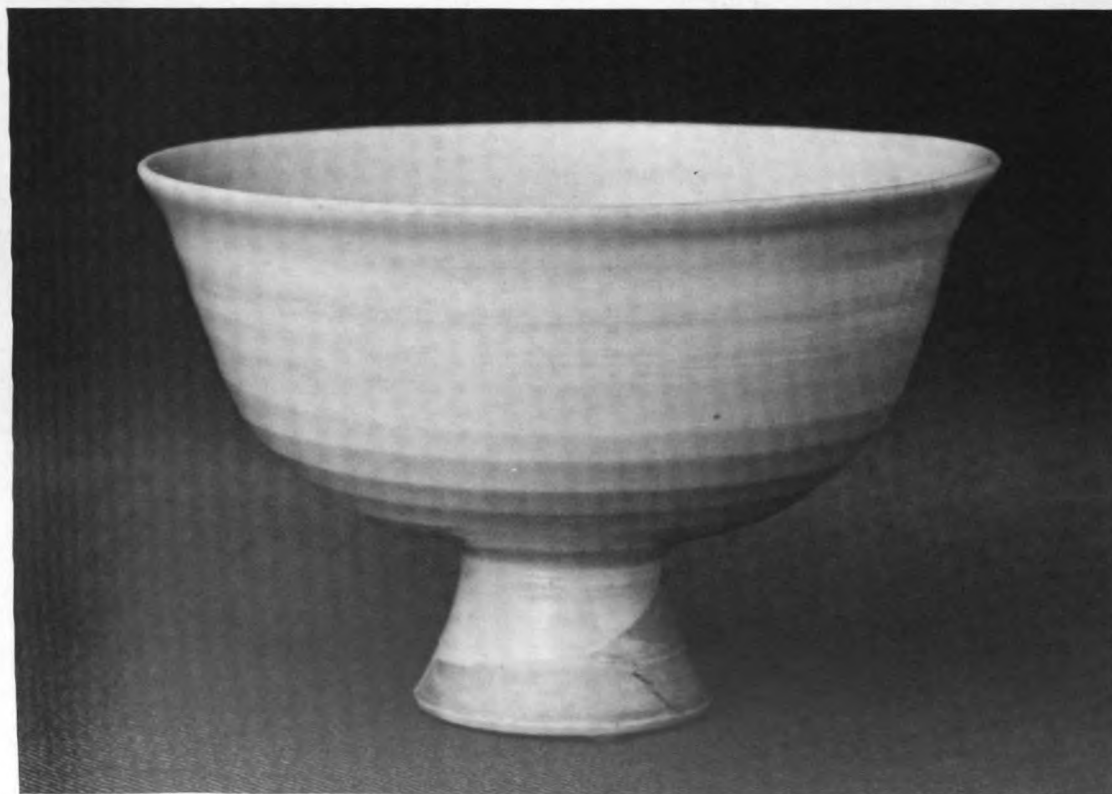


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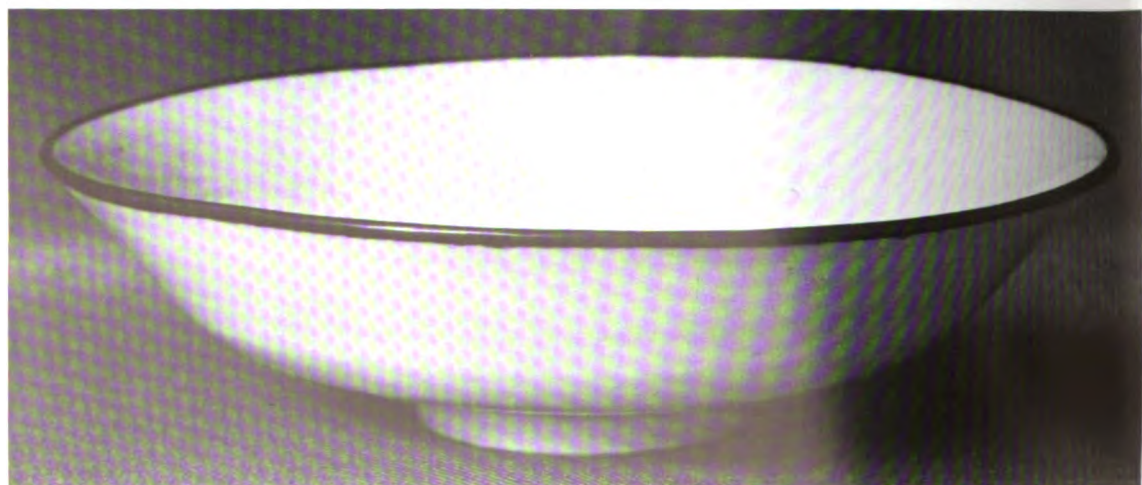
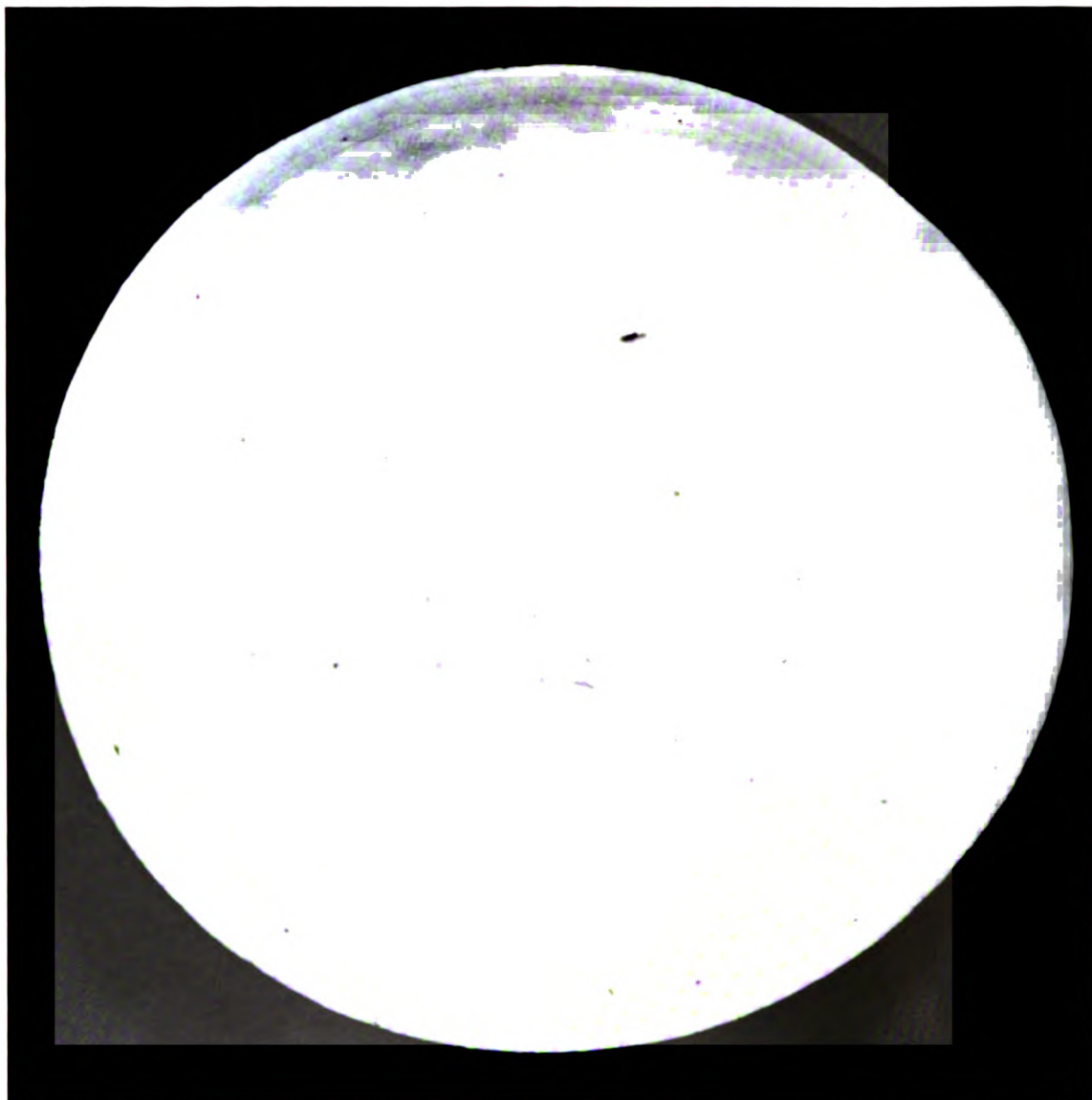
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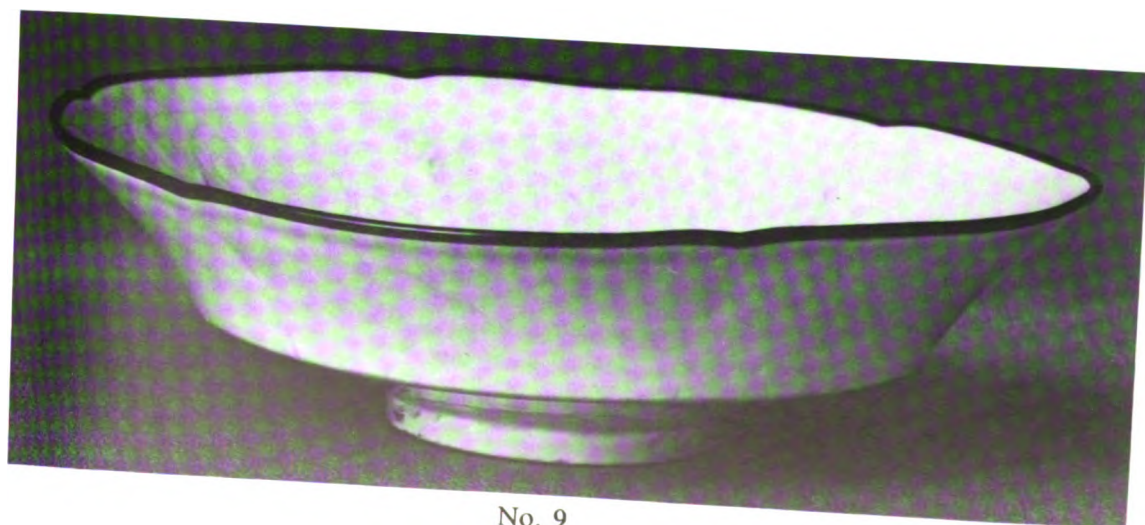
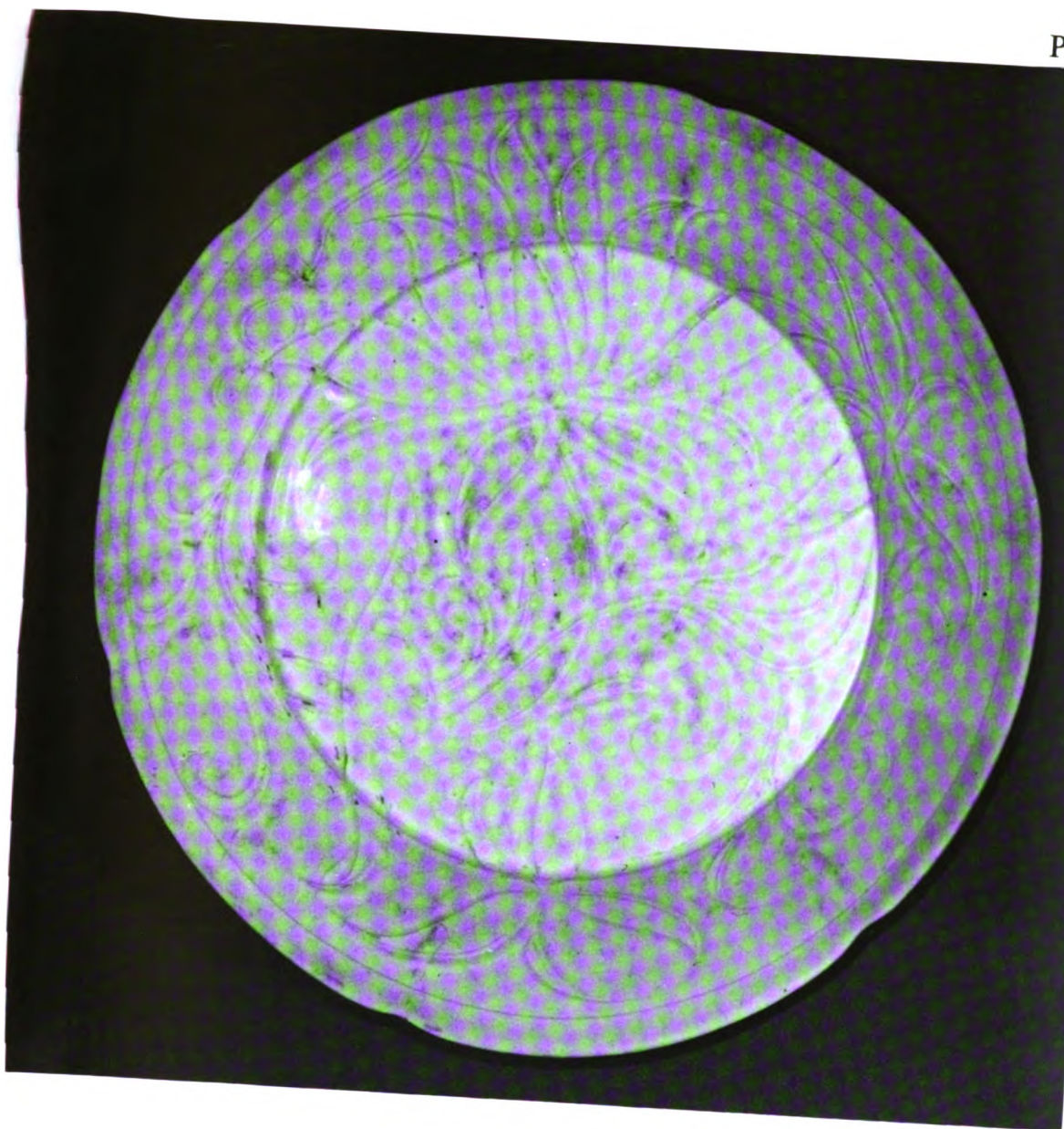


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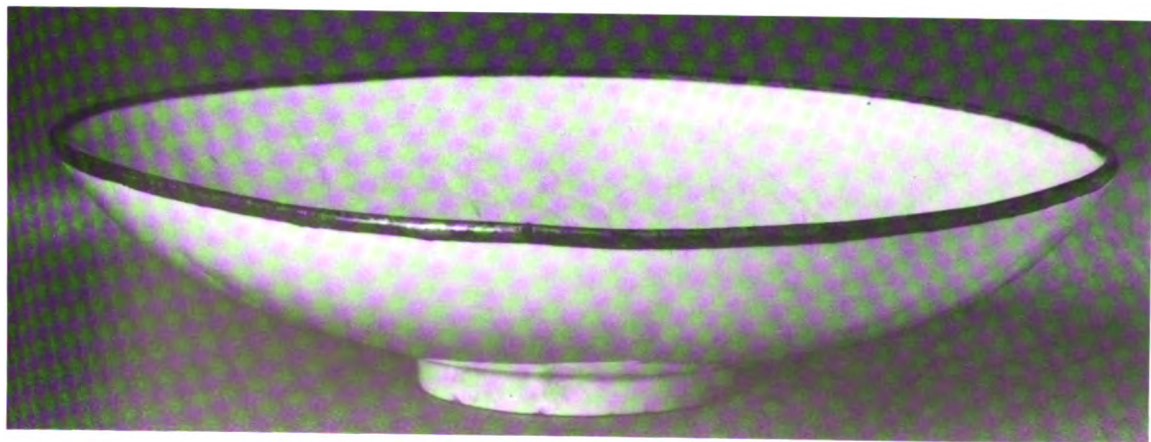
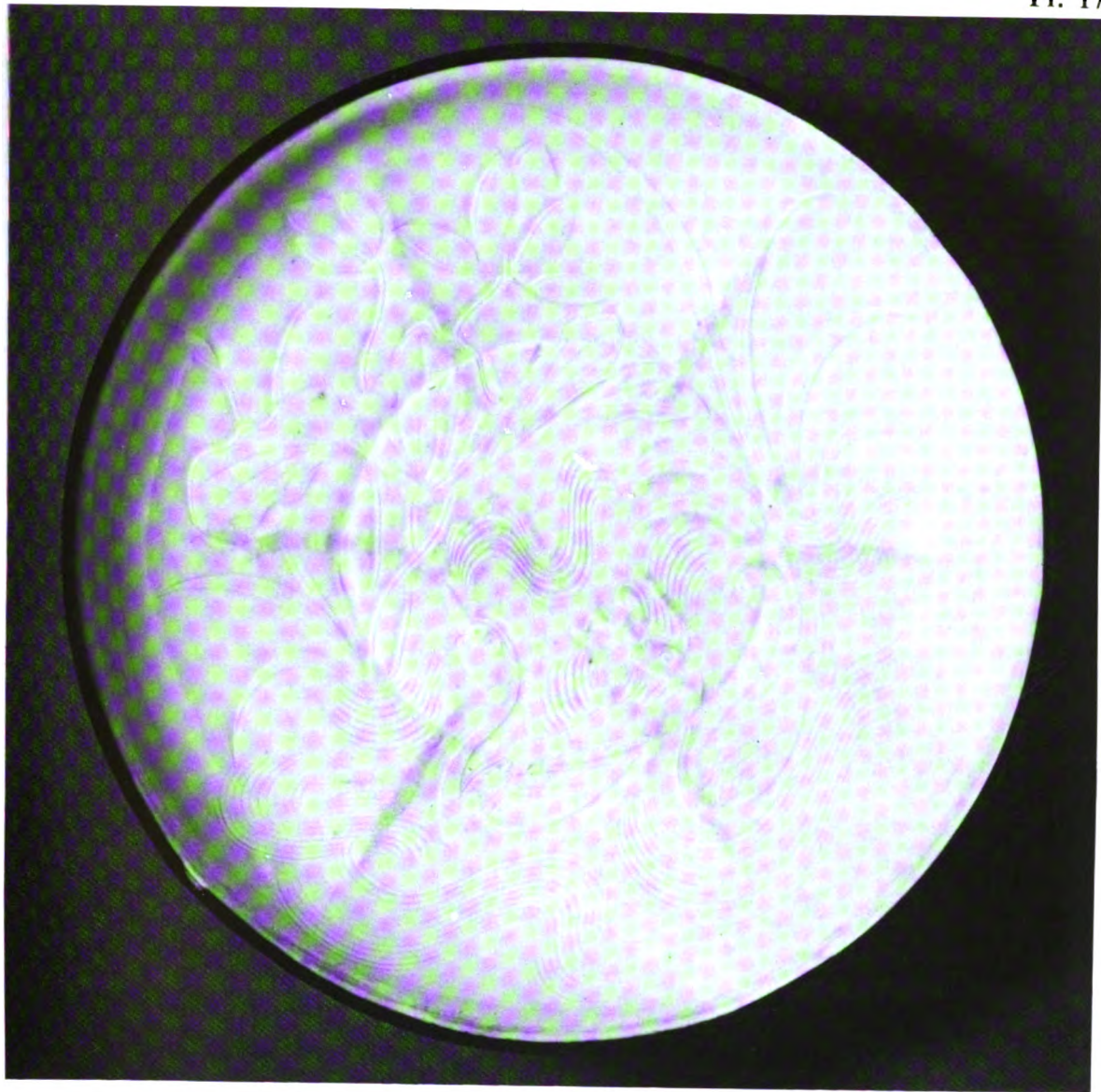


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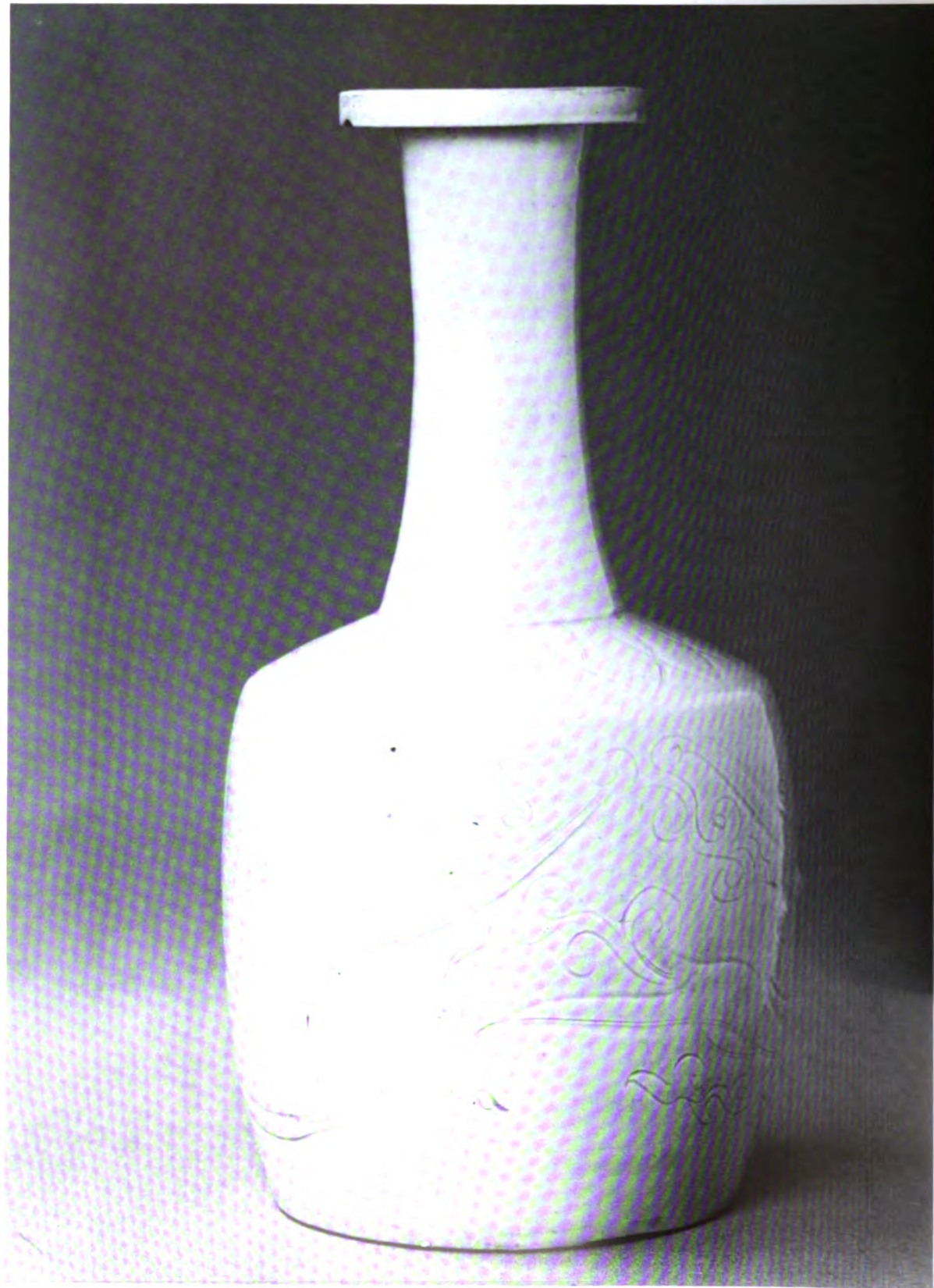


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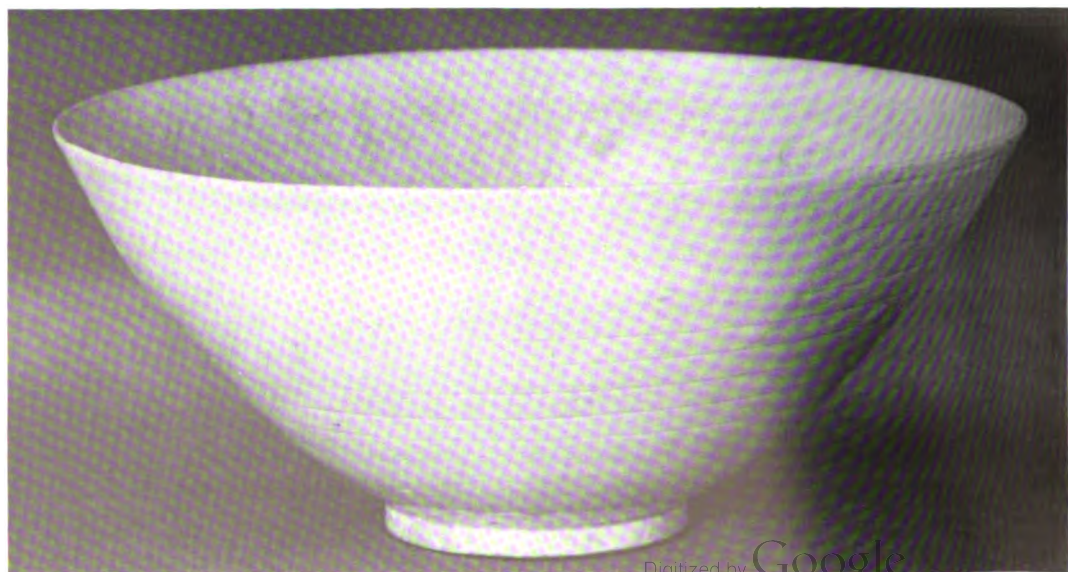
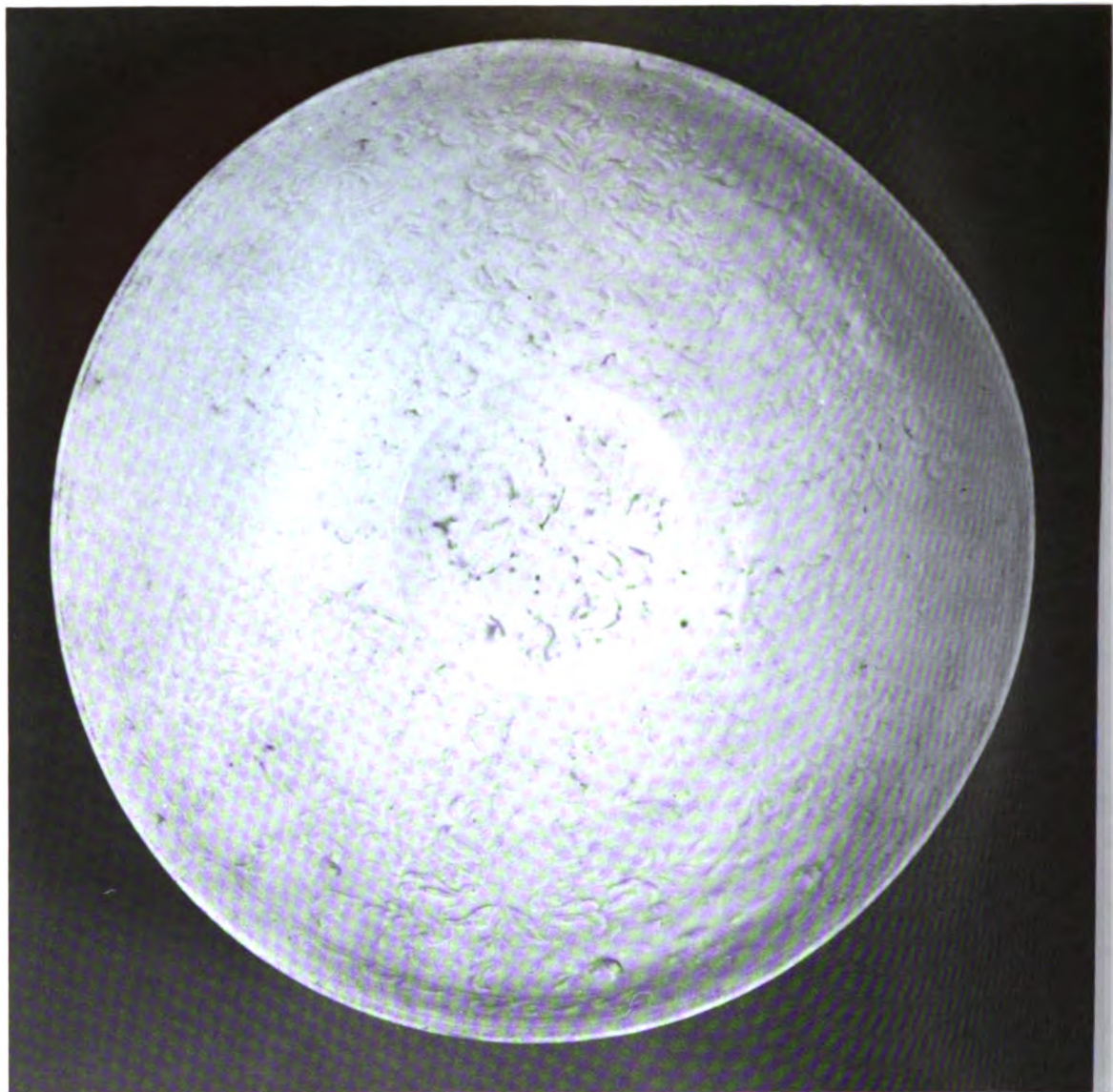
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No. 13





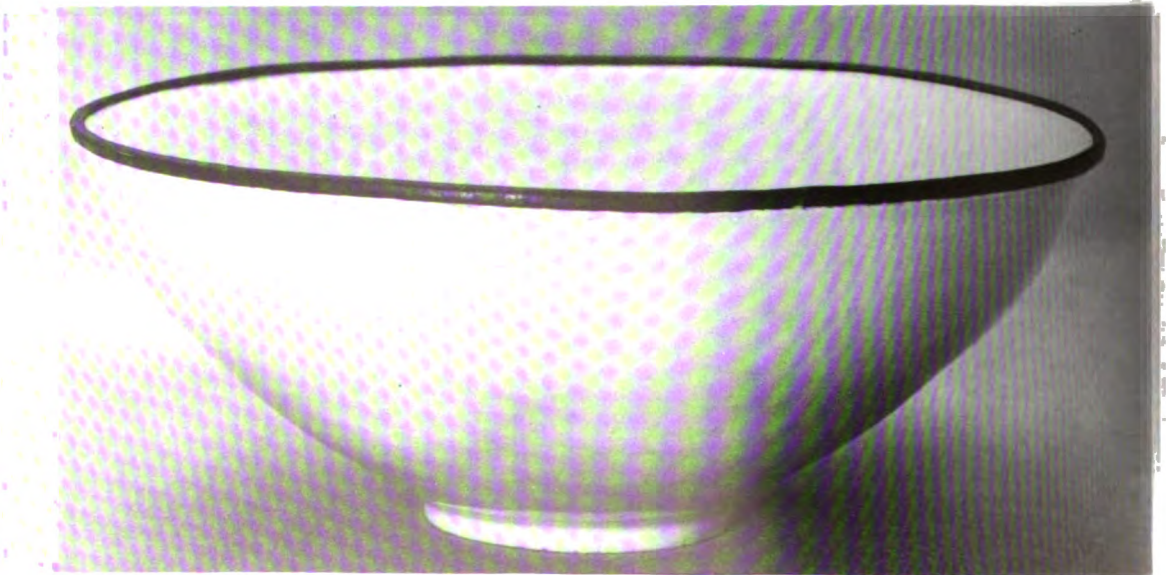
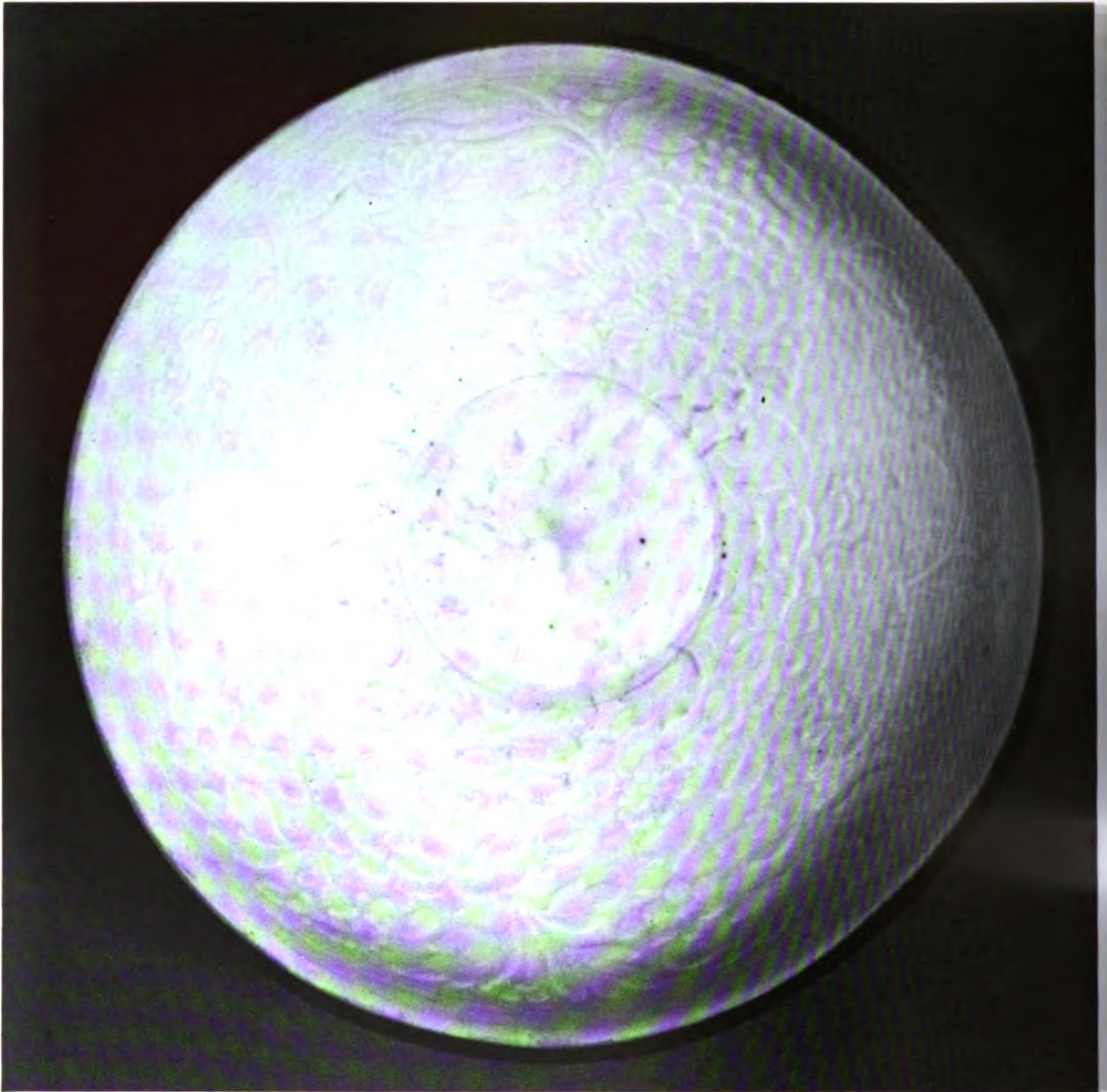
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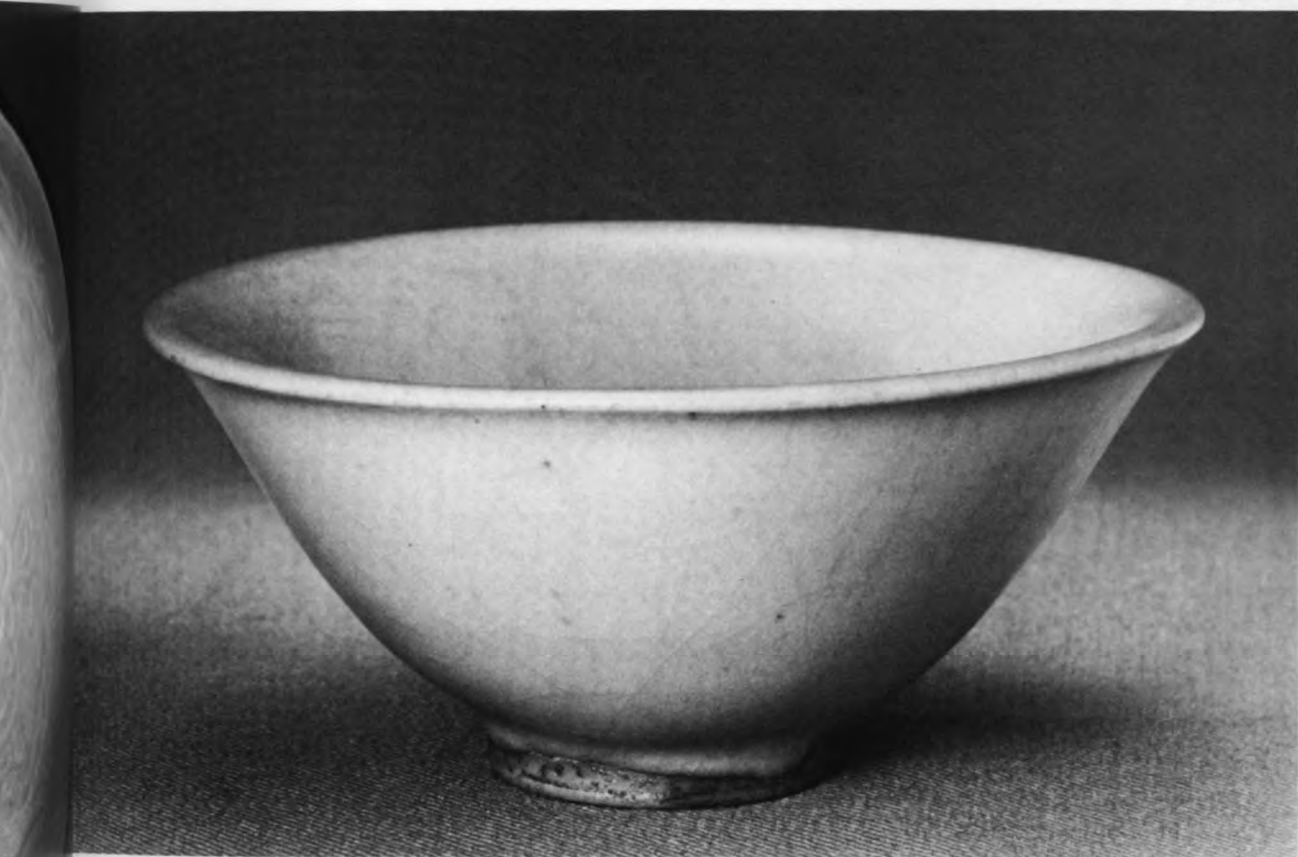
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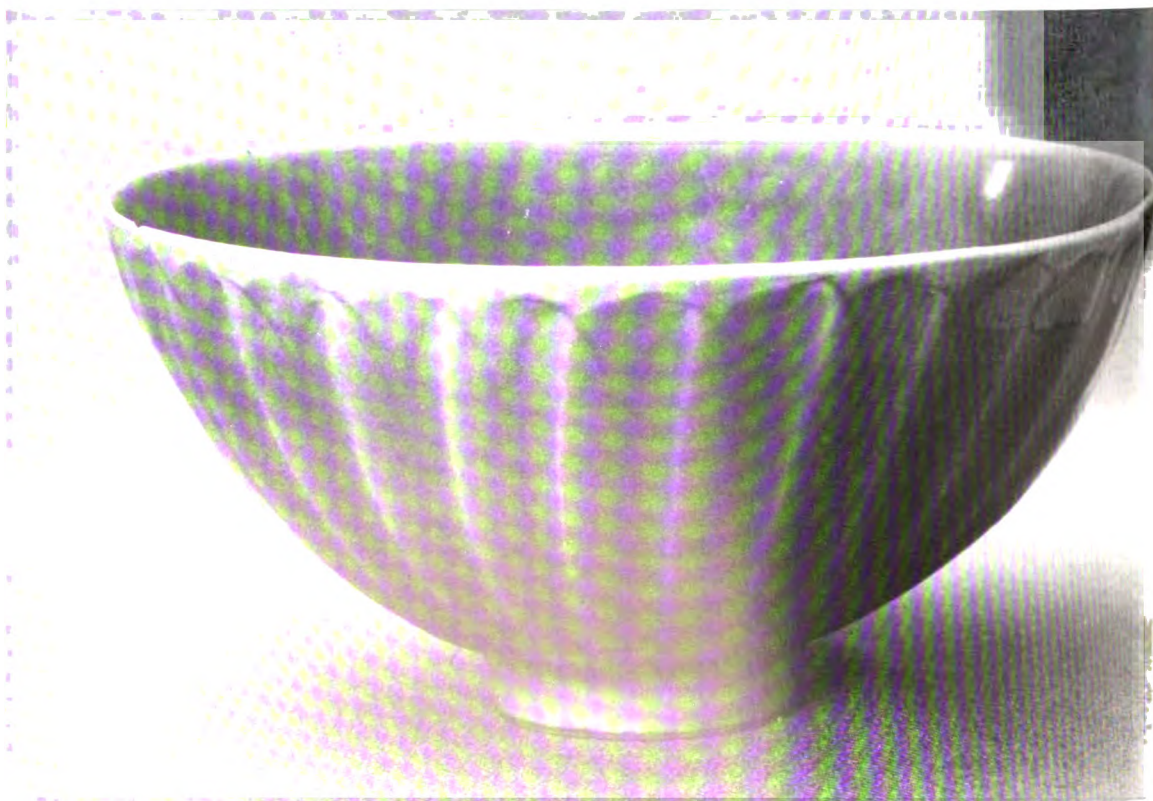
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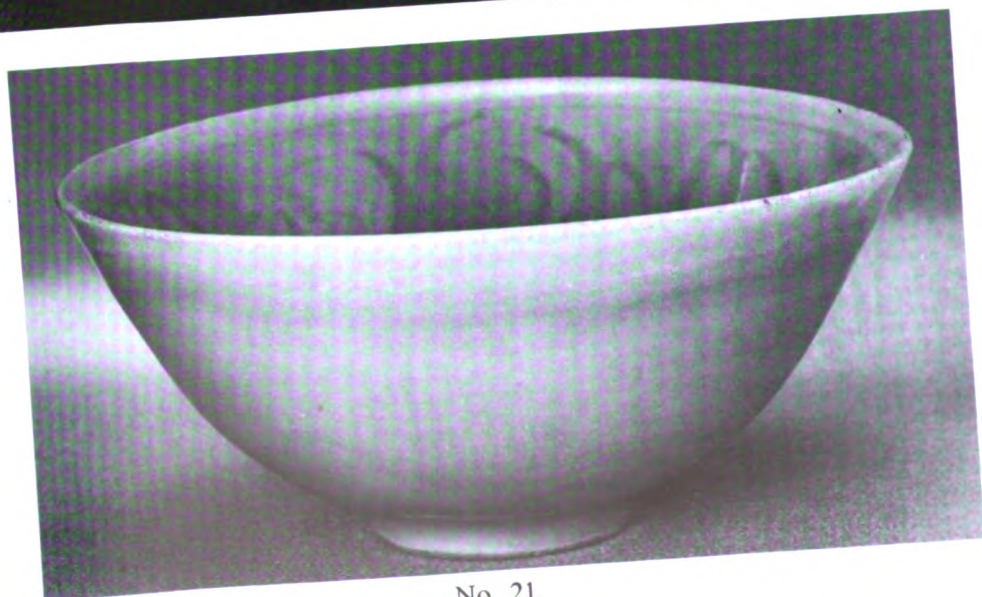
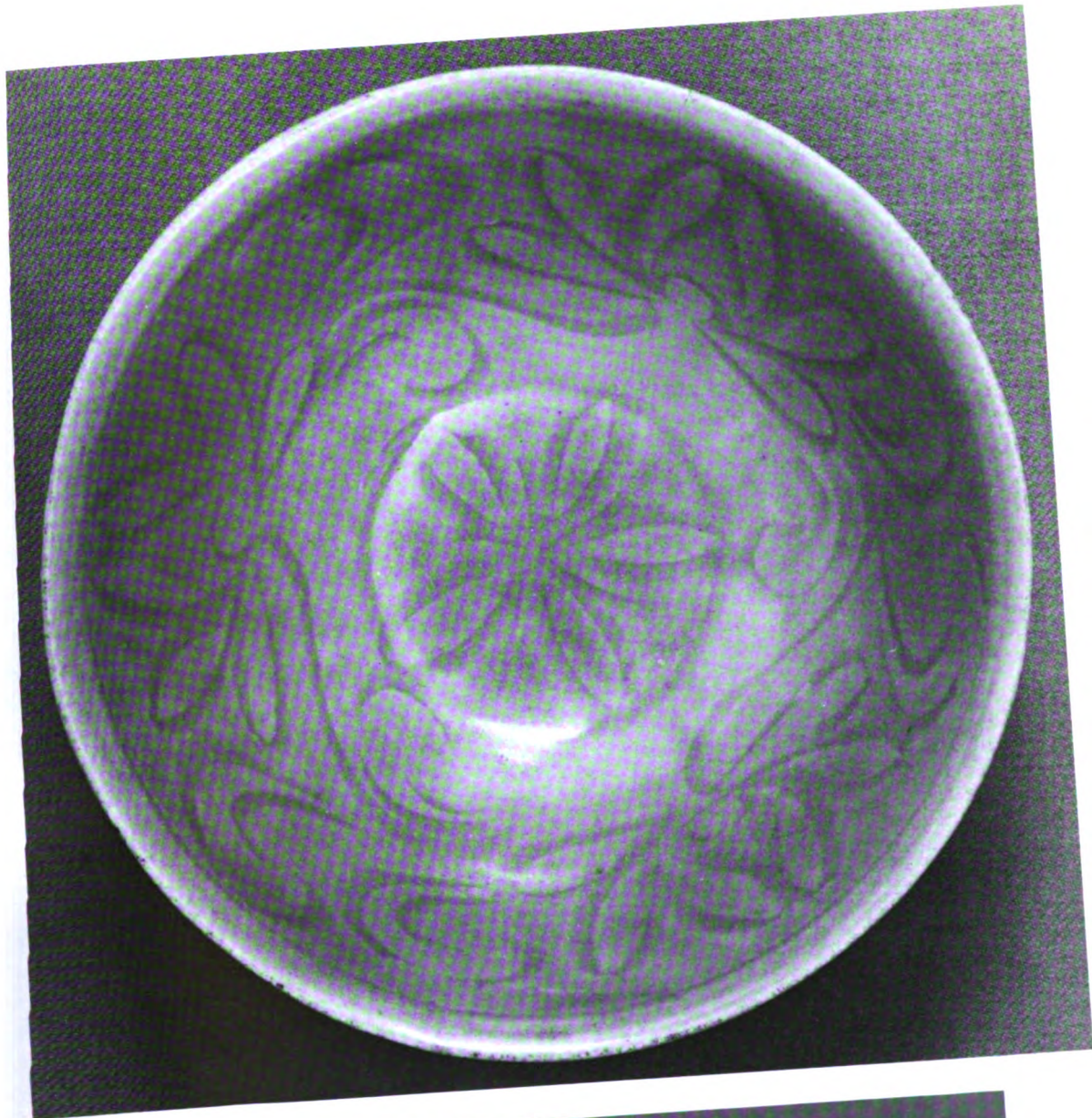
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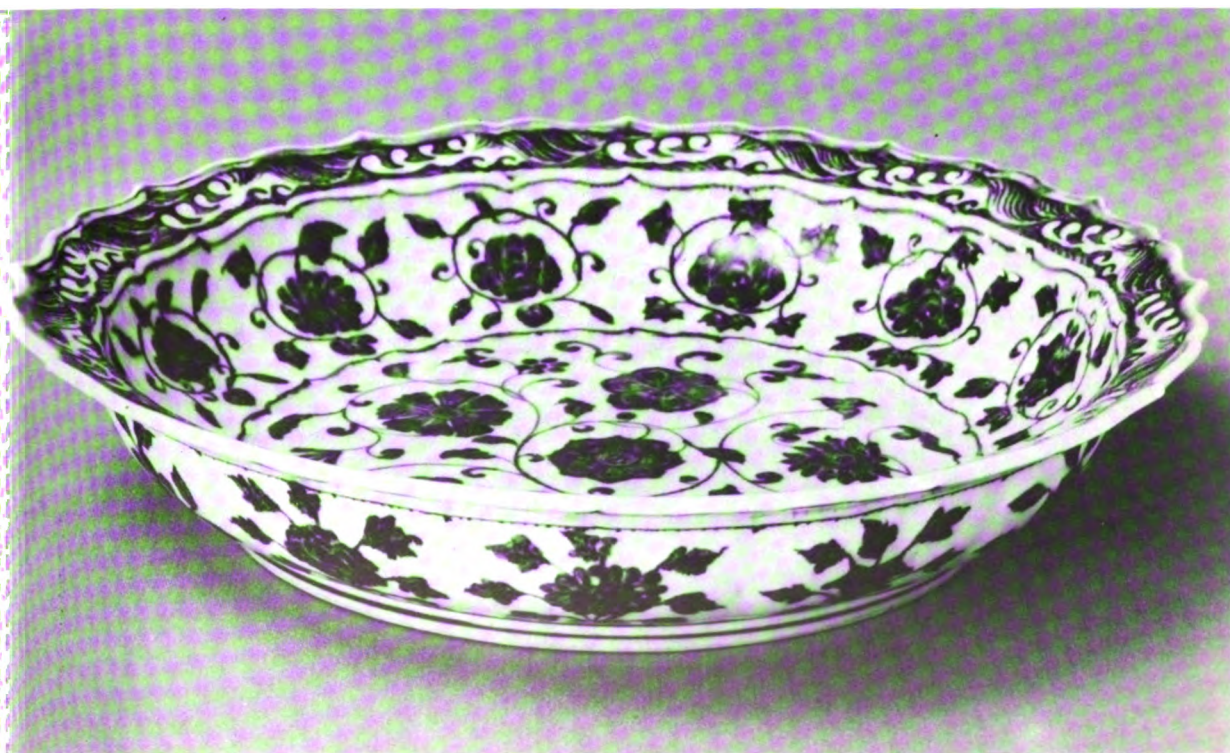


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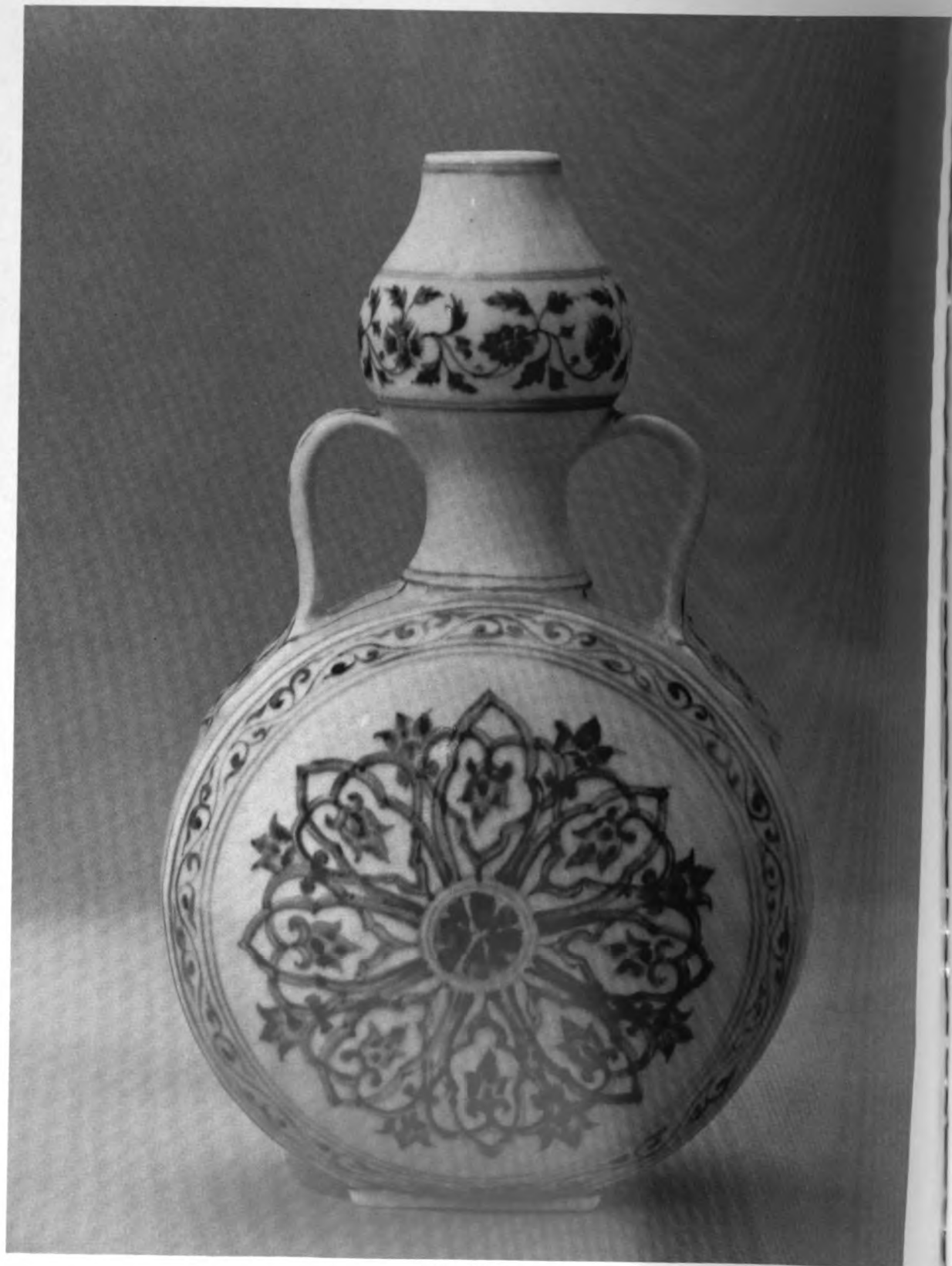
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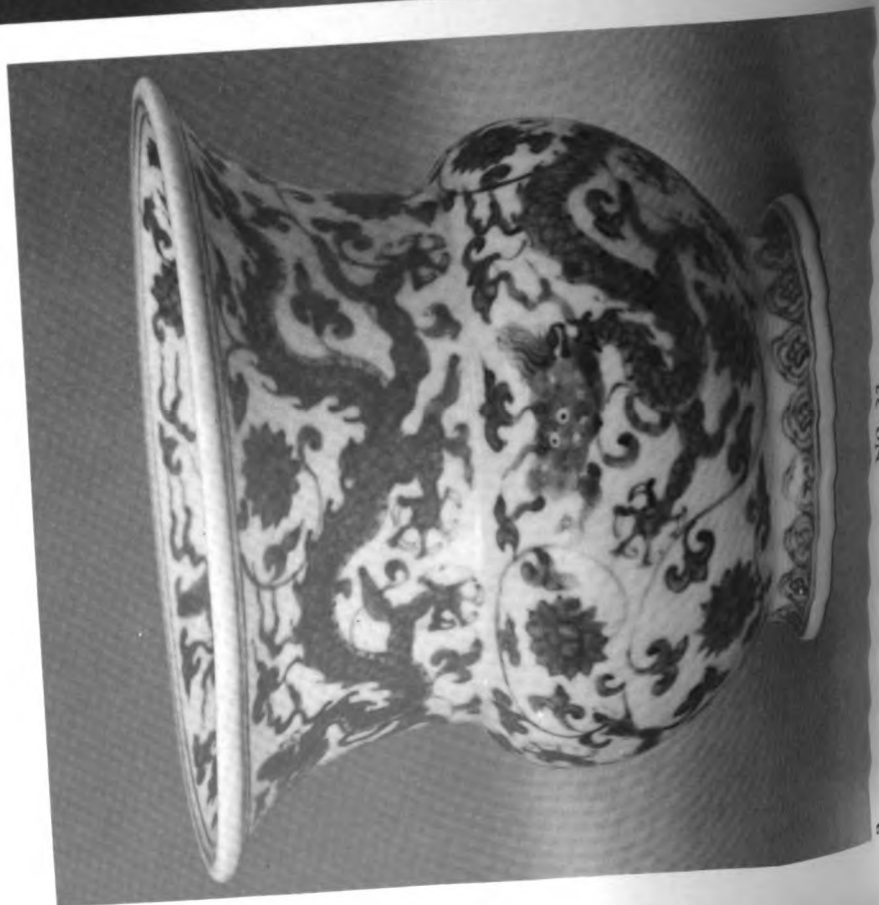
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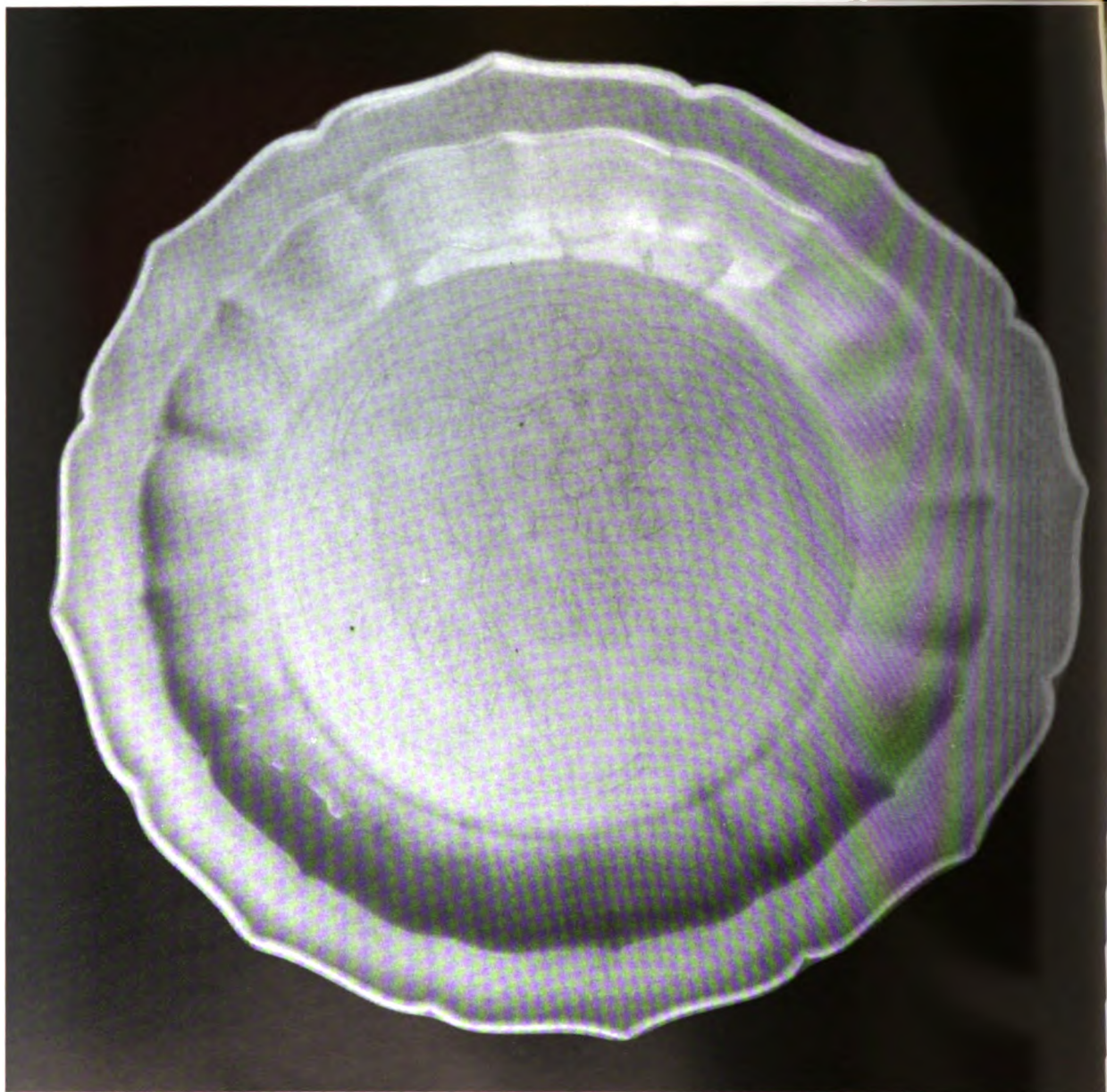


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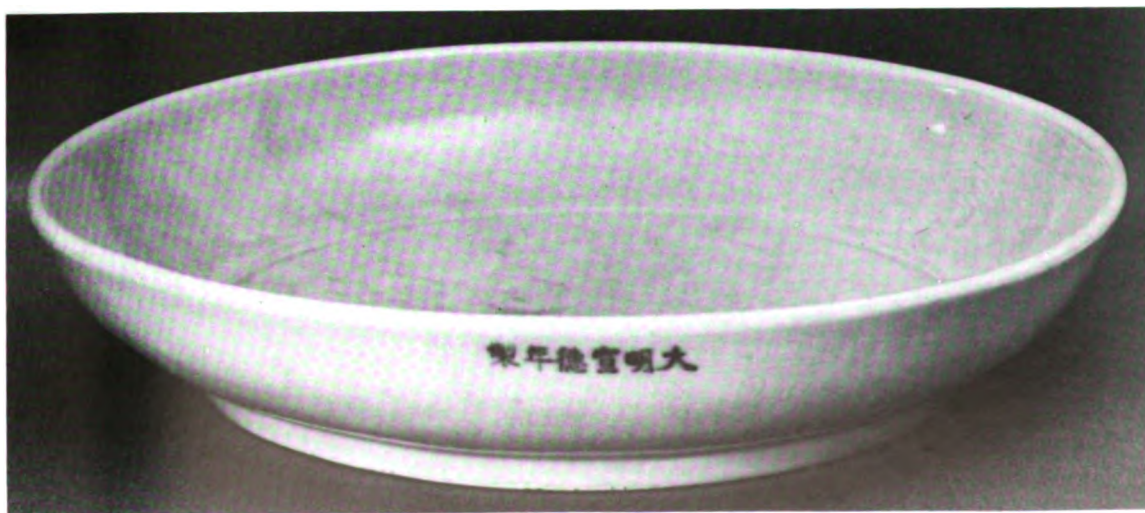
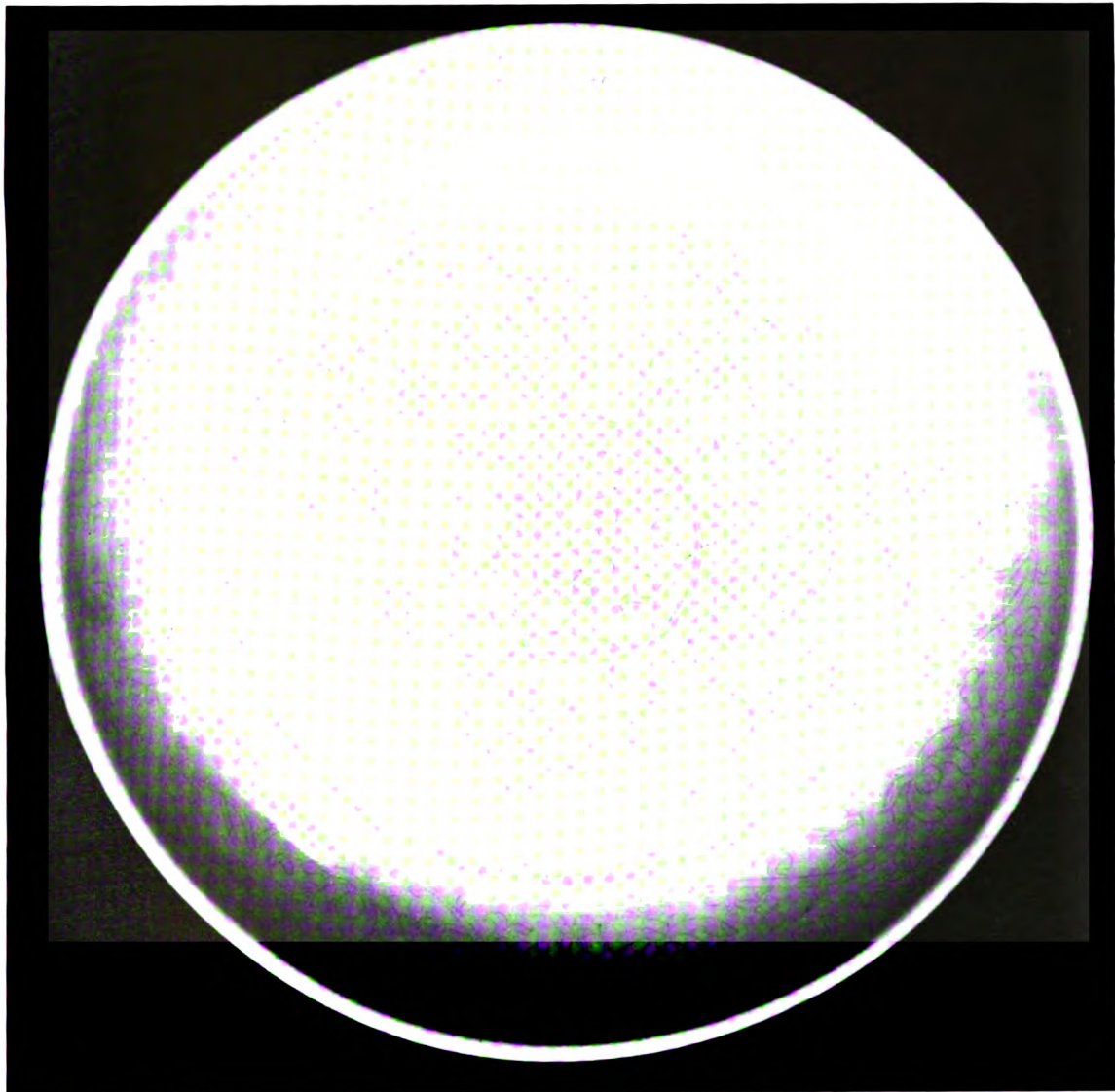




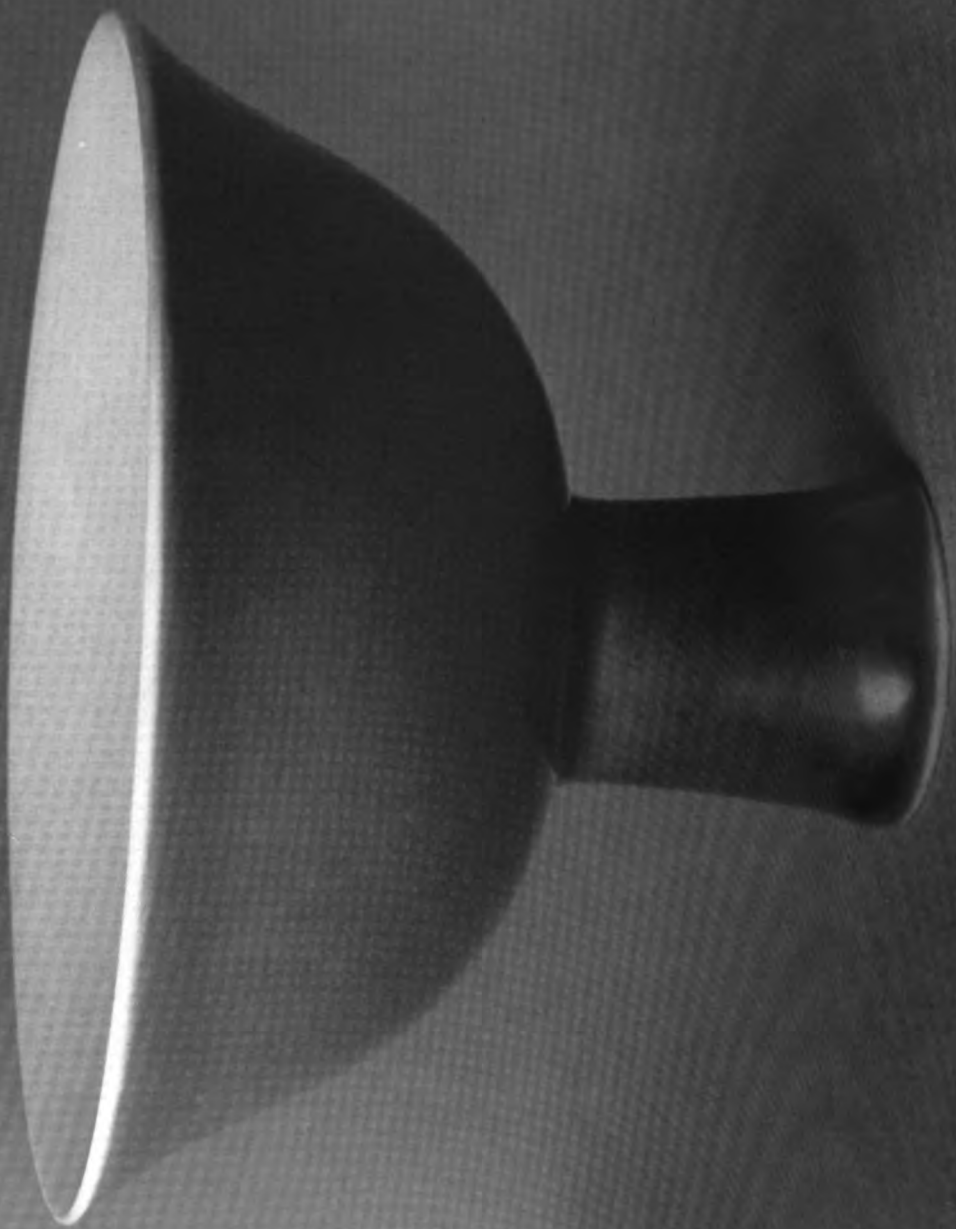
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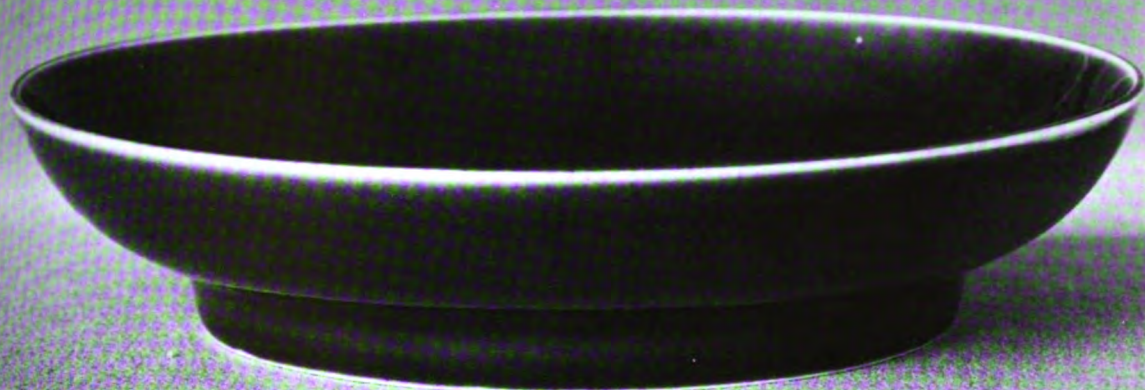


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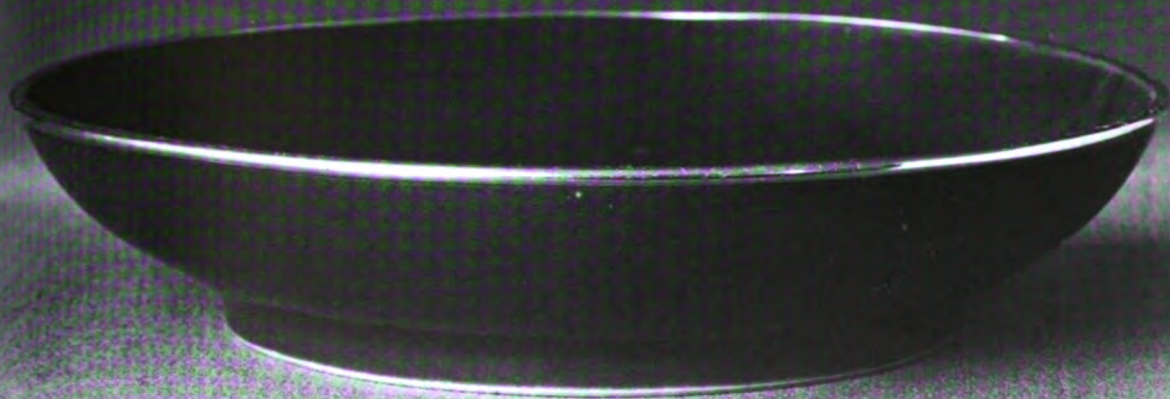


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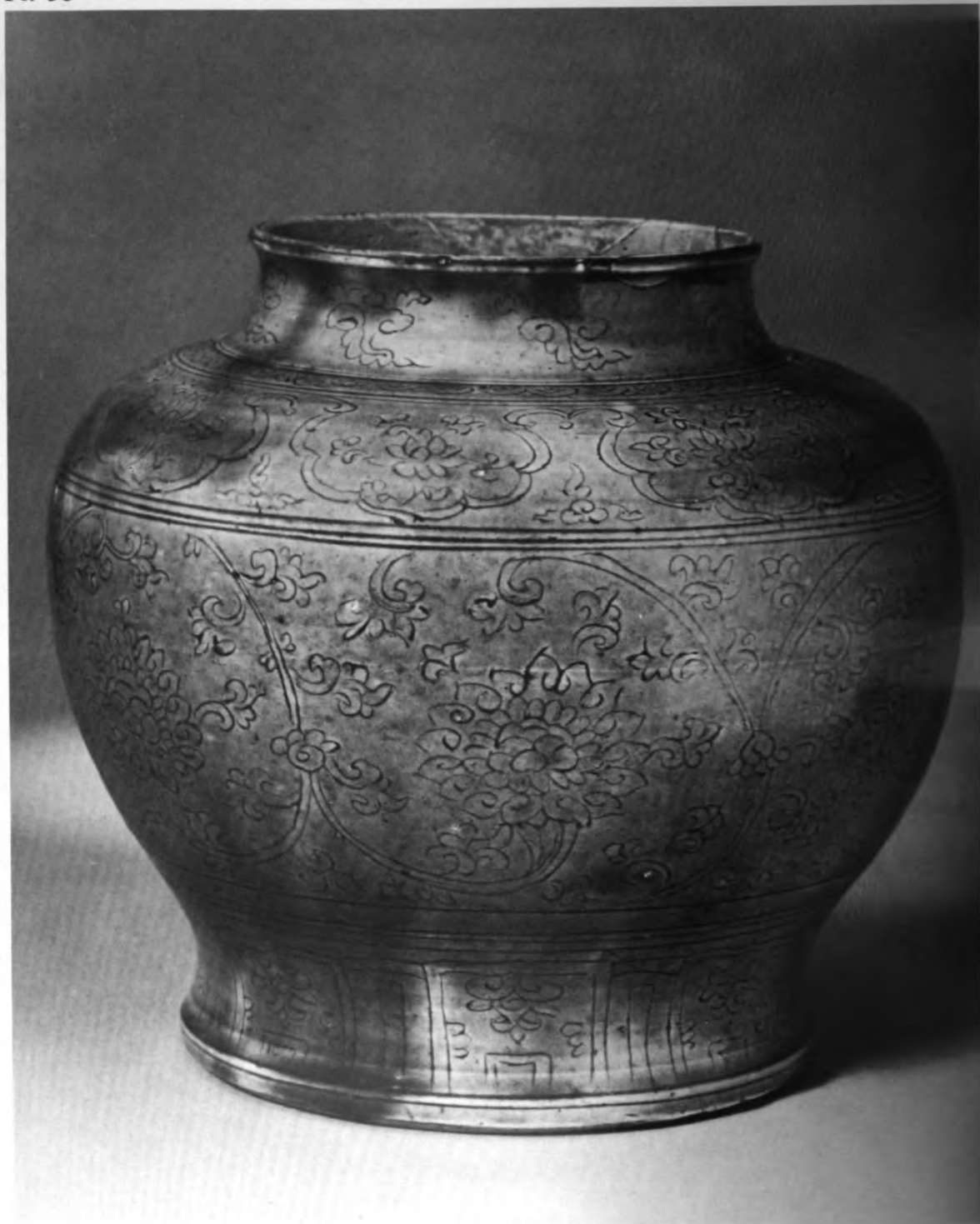




No. 39



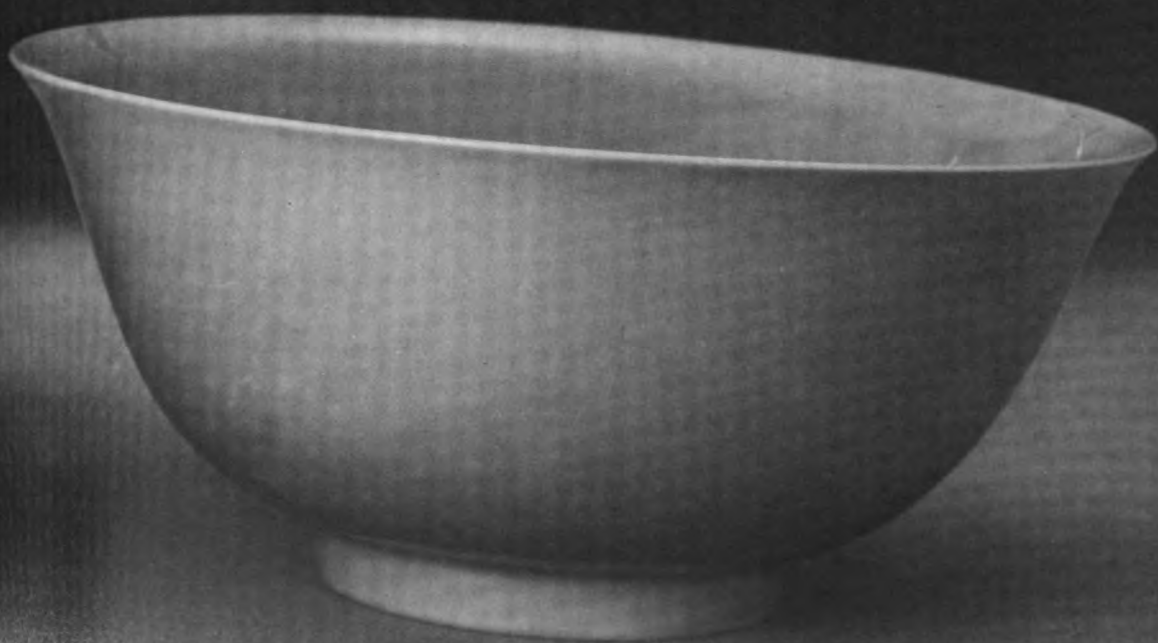
No. 40



No. 41



No. 42



No. 43



a

No. 44



b

No. 45



a

No. 46



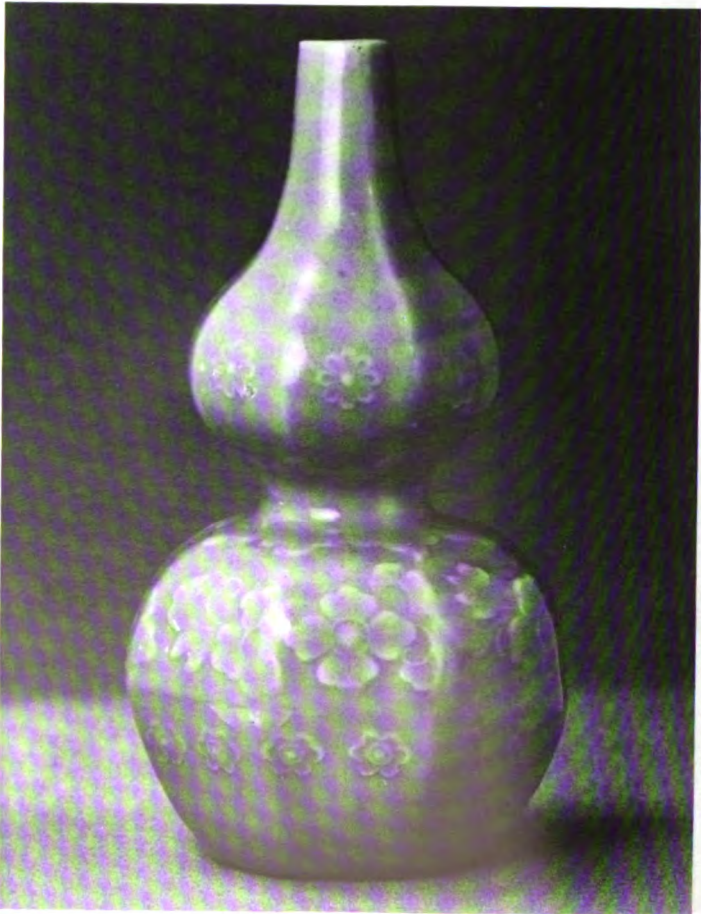
b

No. 47



a

No. 48



b

No. 49



a

No. 51



No. 52



No. 54



No. 55



a

No. 56



b

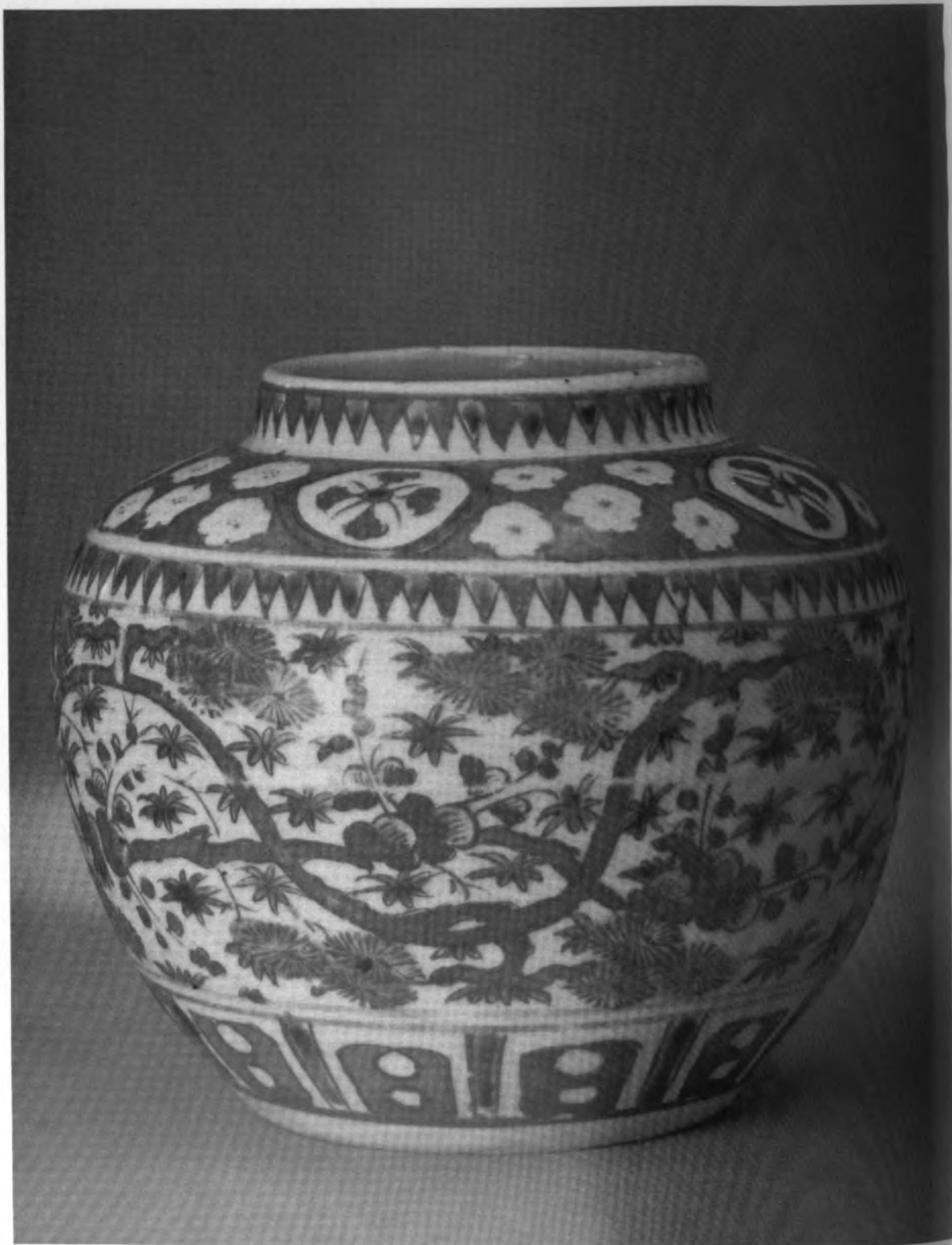
No. 57



No. 58



No. 59



No. 60



No. 61

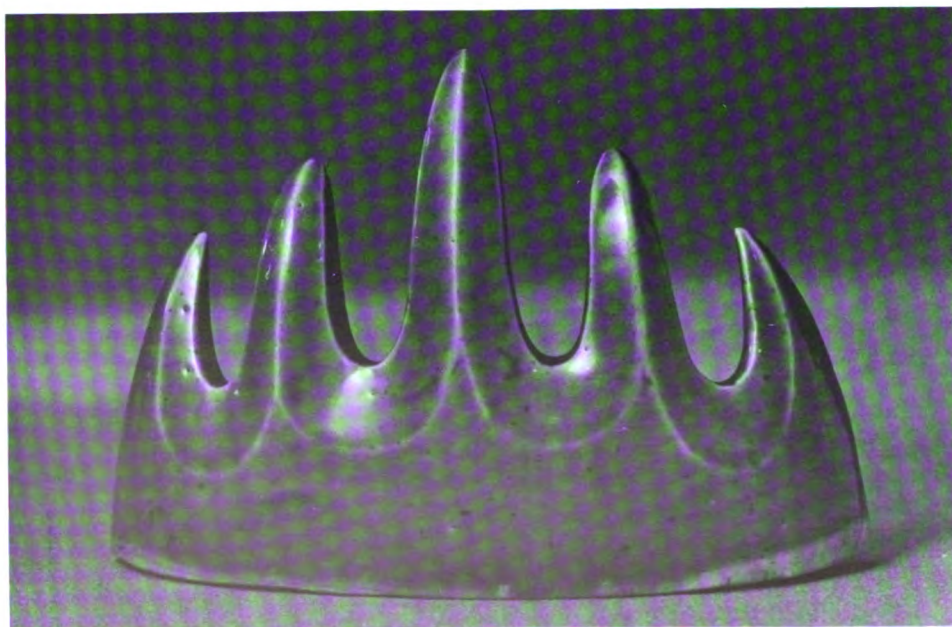


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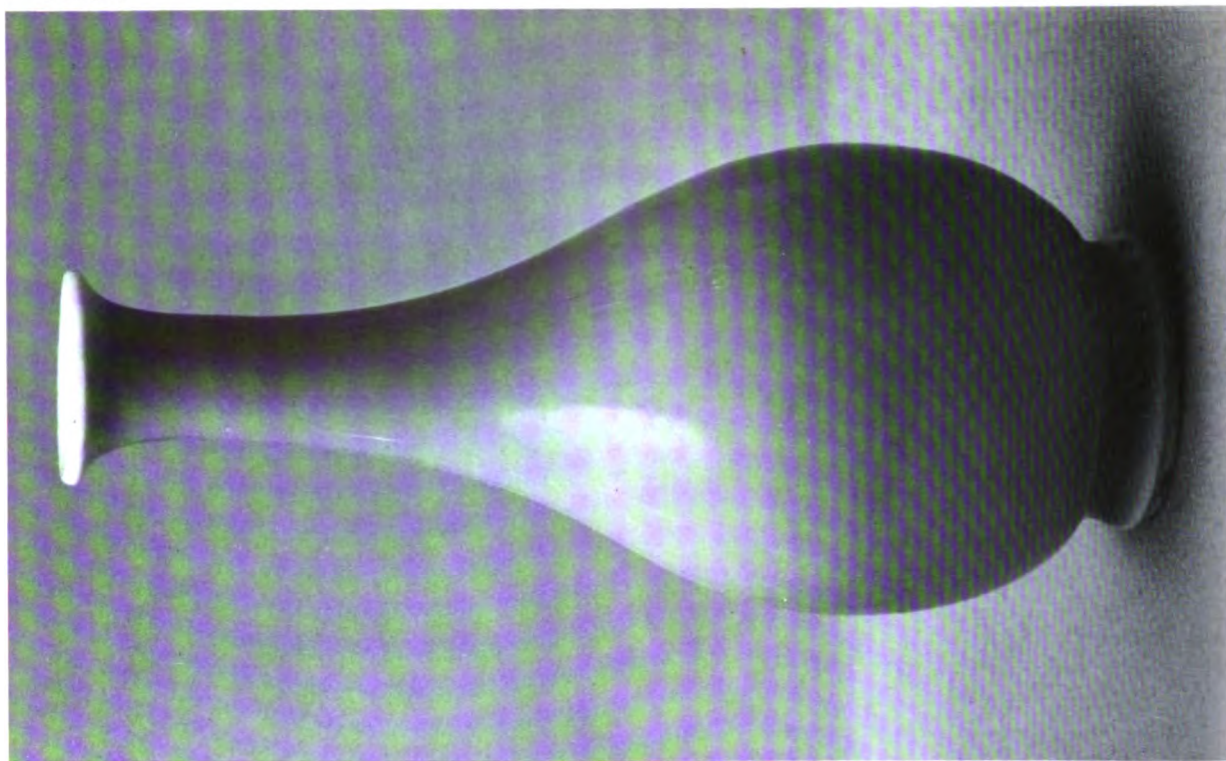
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No. 65



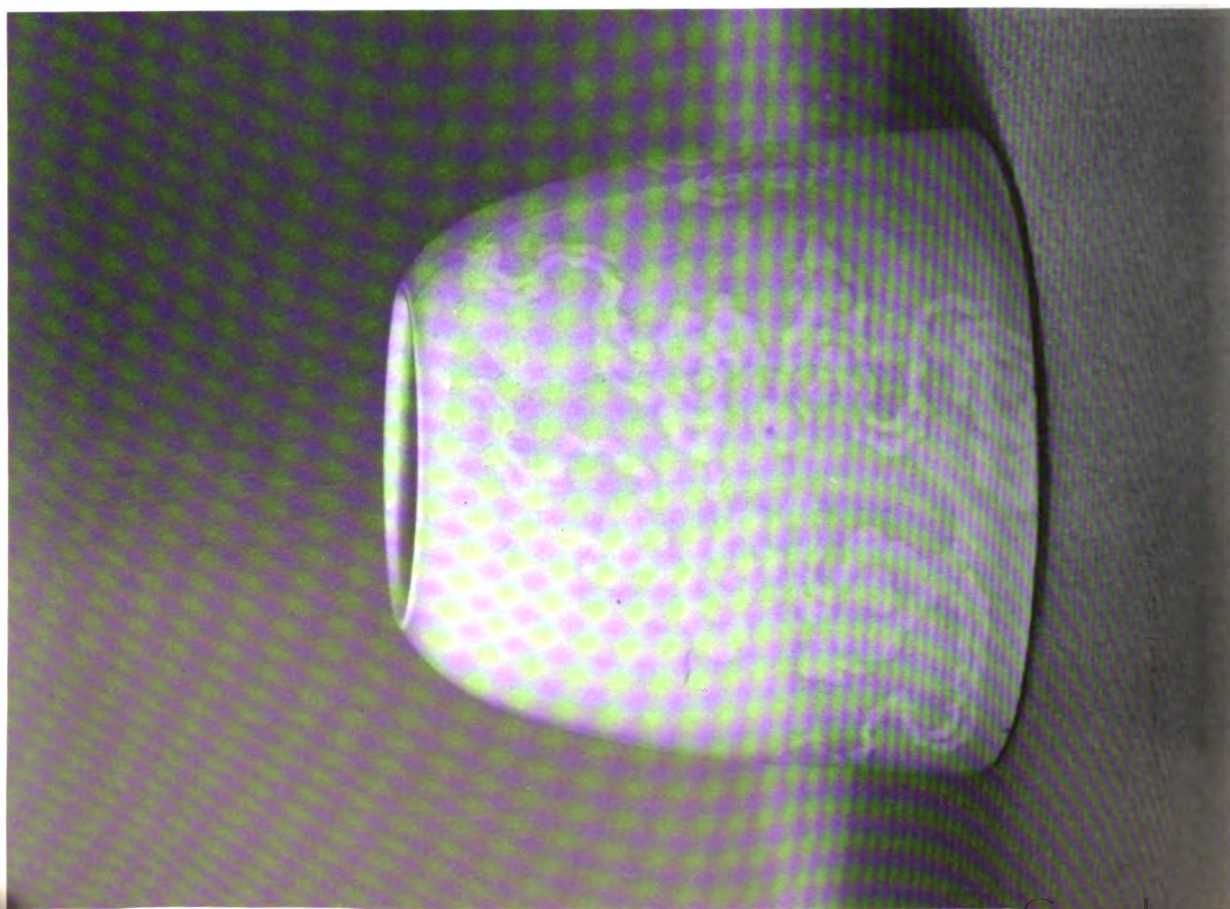
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No. 66



No. 71

b

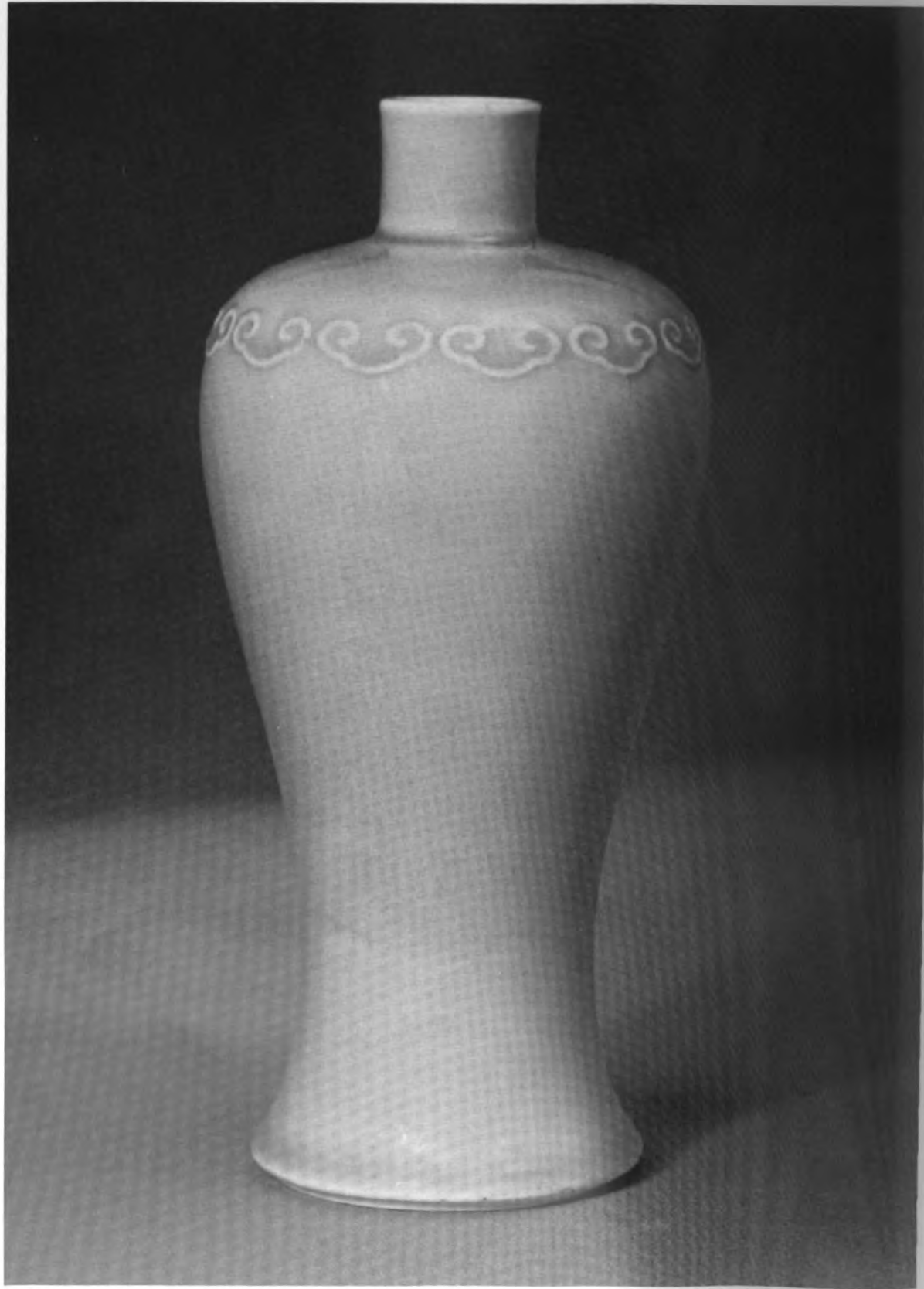


No. 67

a



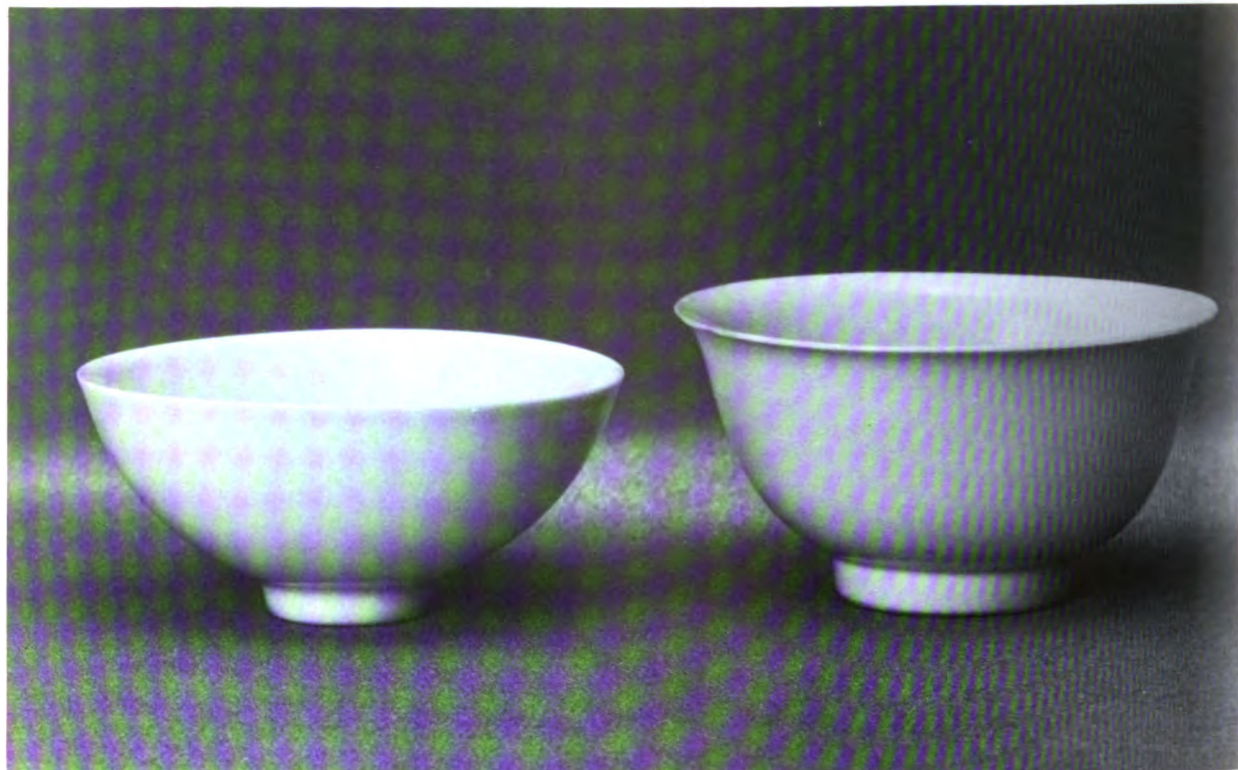
No. 68



No. 69



No. 70



a

No. 73

b

No. 72



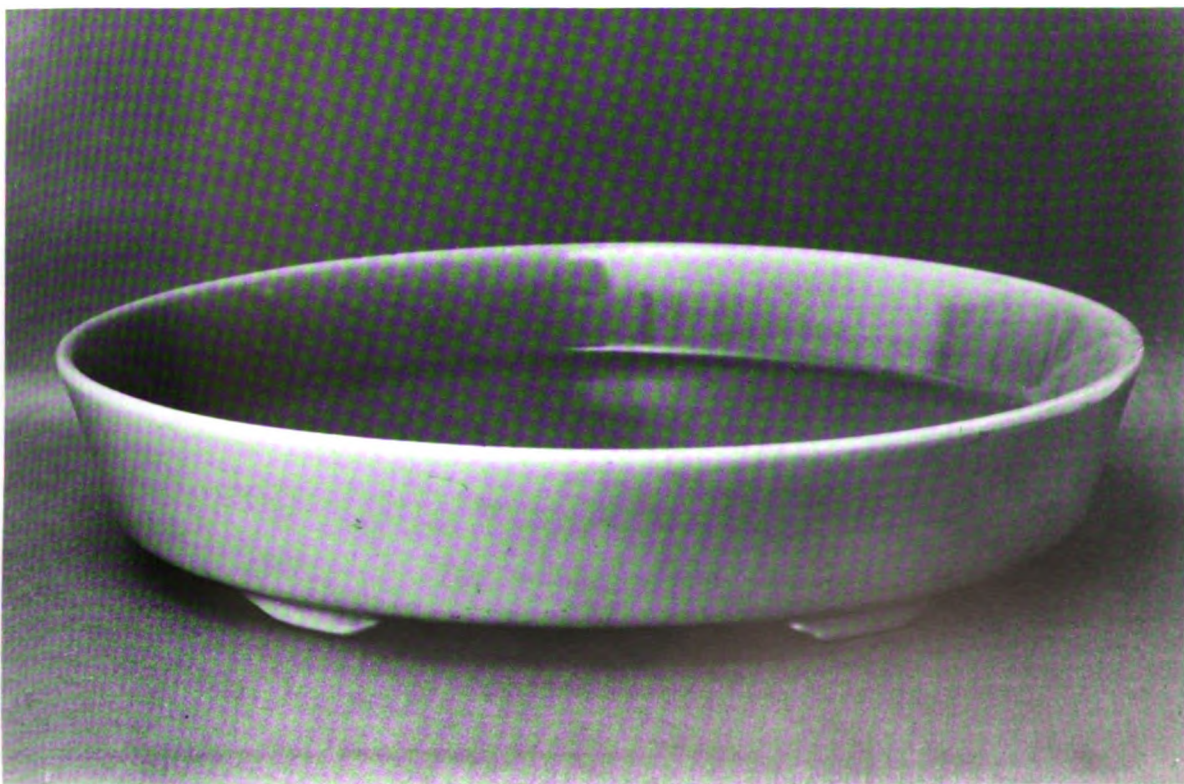
c

No. 74



a

No. 75



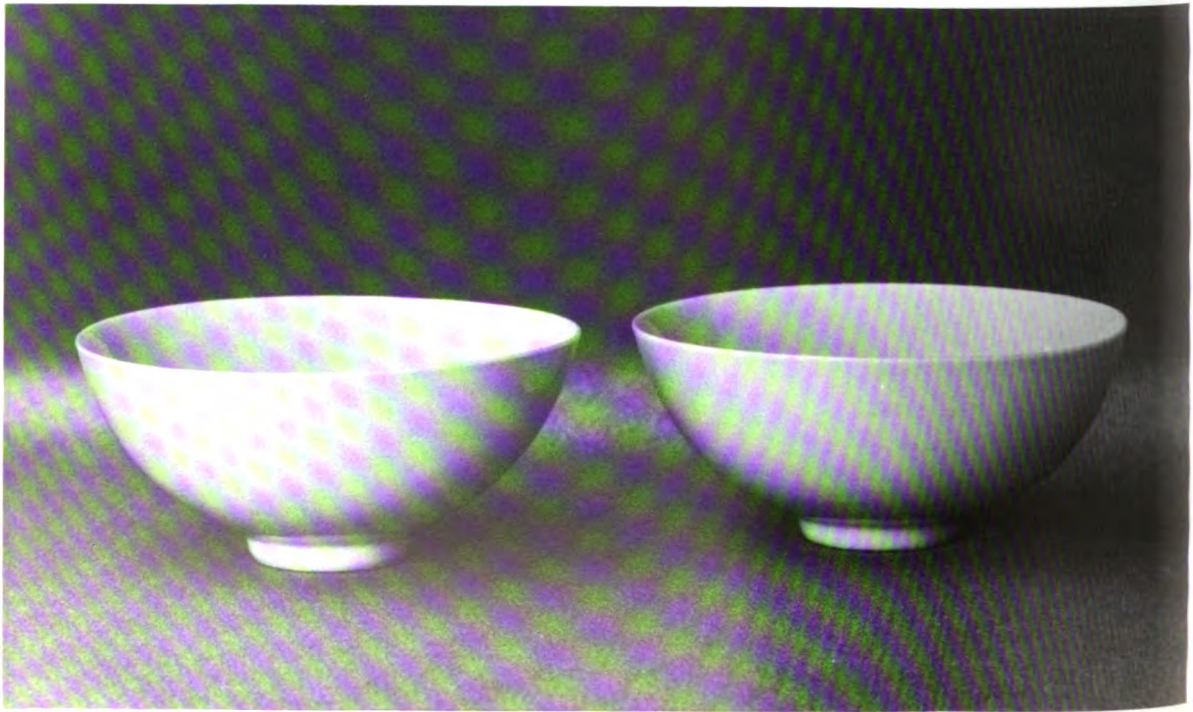
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No. 76



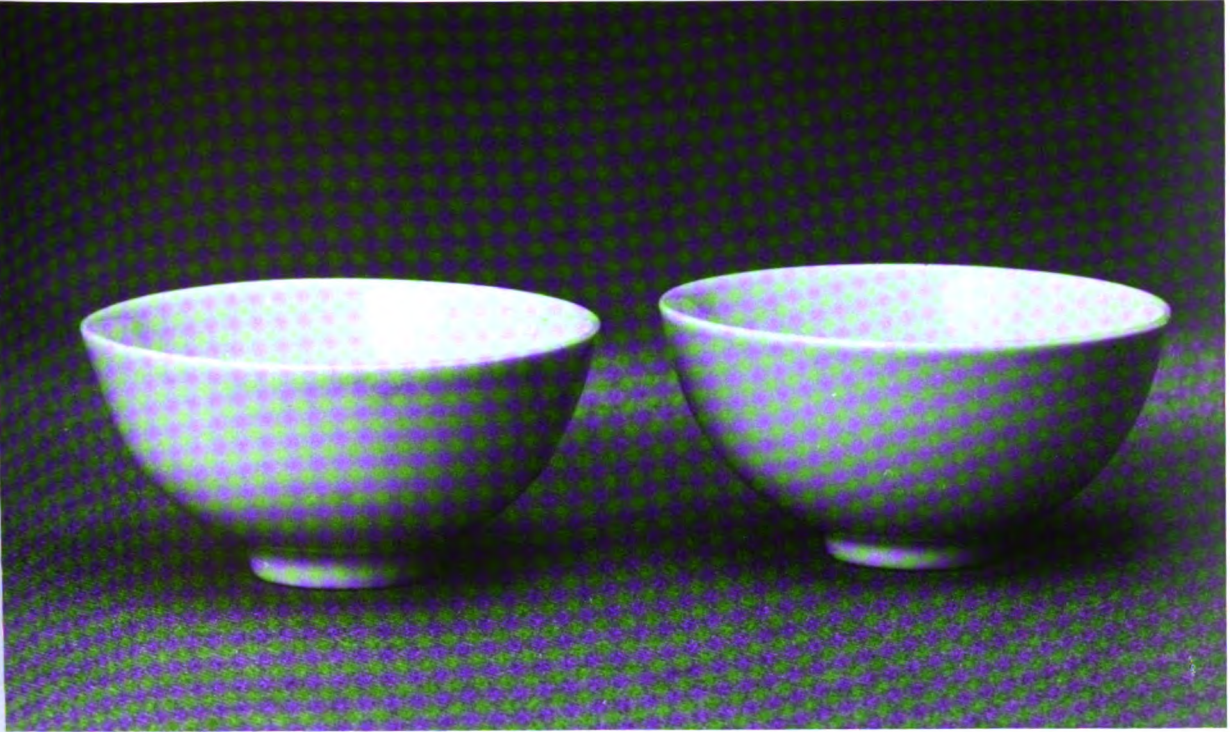
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No. 77



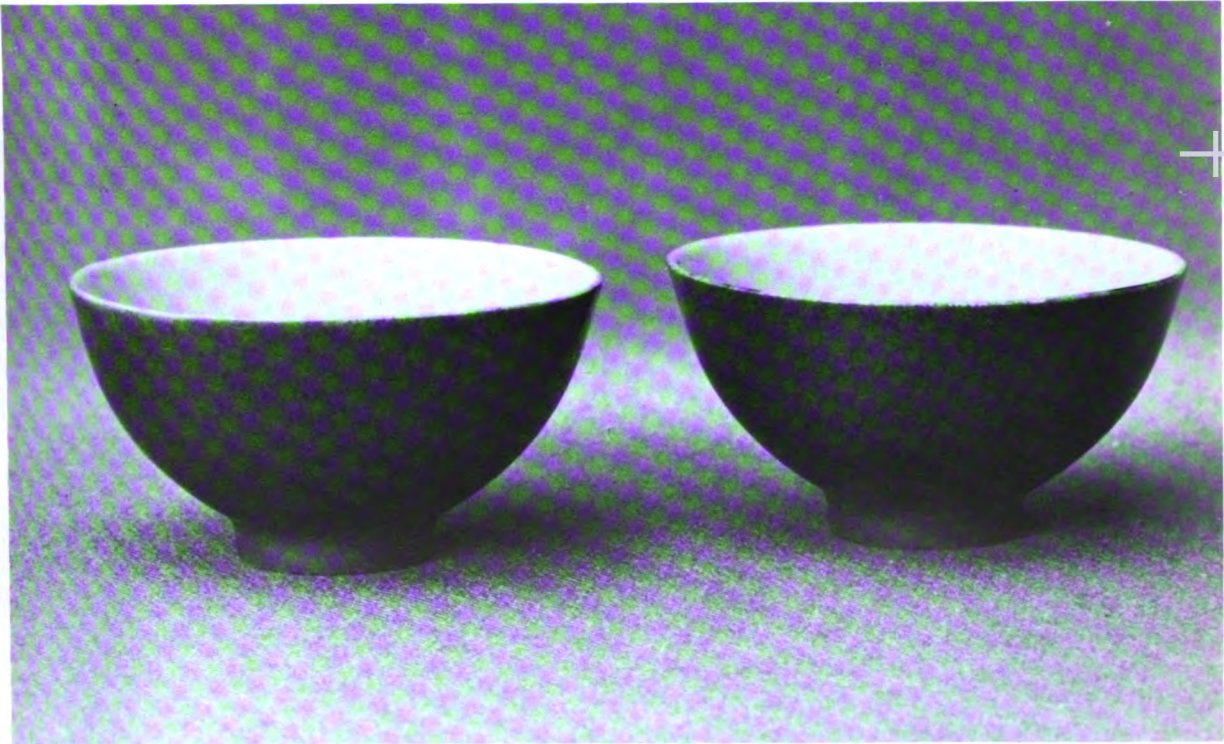
b

No. 78



a

No. 79



b

No. 80



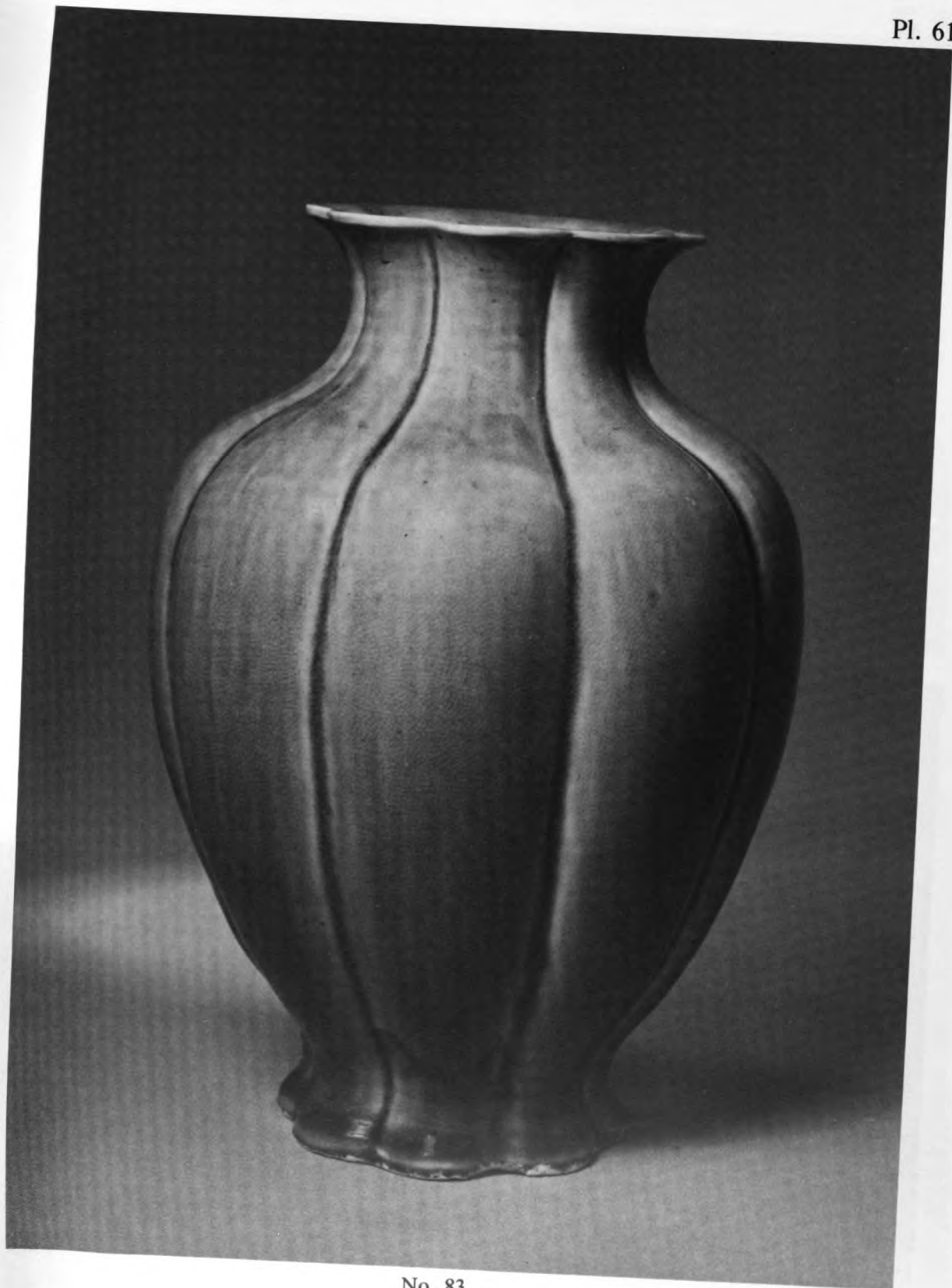
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No. 81

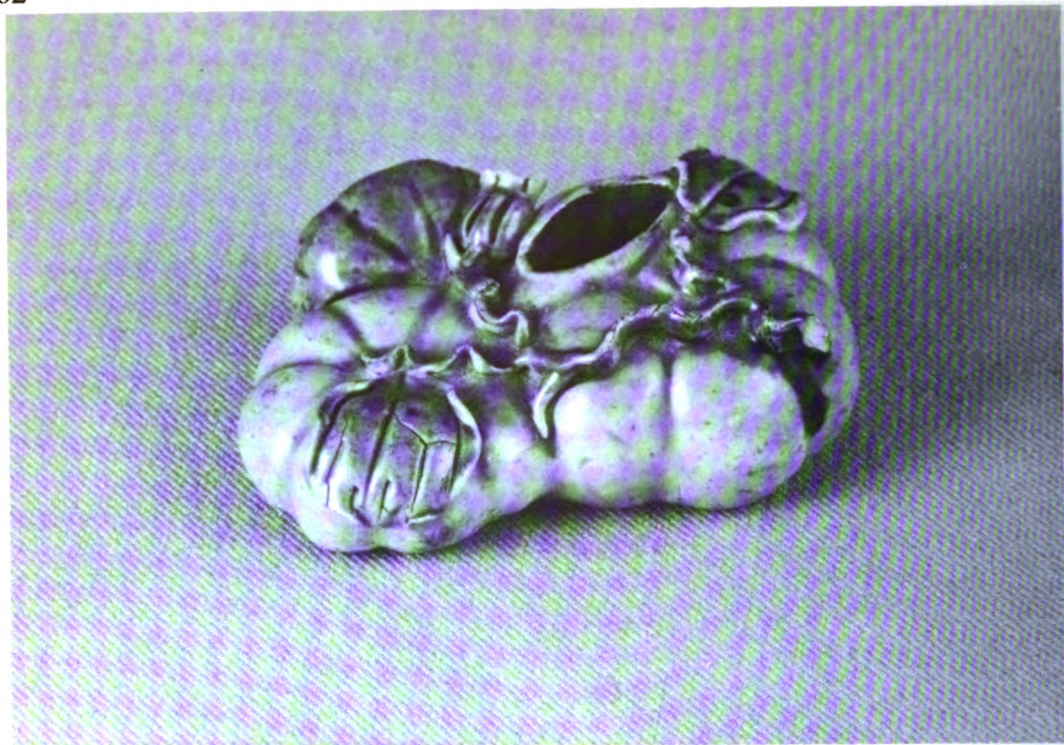


b

No. 82

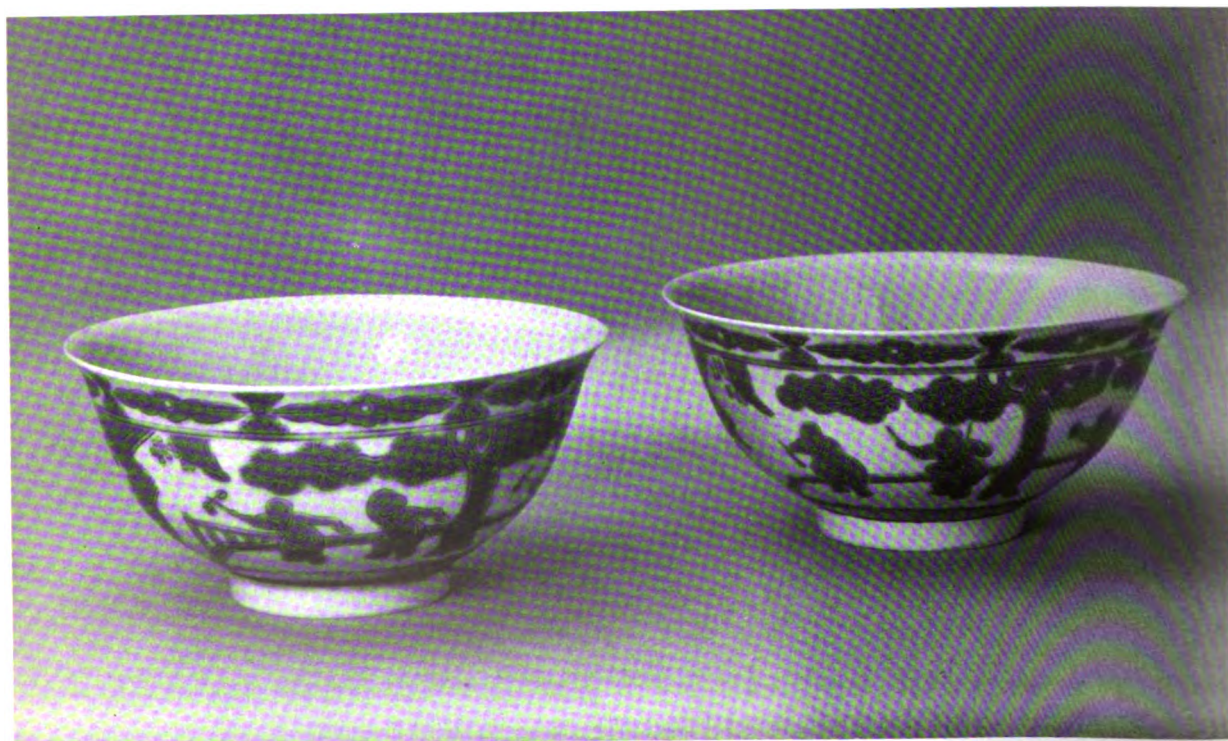


No. 83



a

No. 84



b

No. 85



a

No. 86



b

No. 87



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The Bulletin and separate articles can be obtained from the Editorial Office of the BMFEA, The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Östasiatiska museet), Box 16381, S-103 27 Stockholm, and from our agents, viz.

O. Harrassowitz, Taunusstrasse 5, Wiesbaden.

Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner Ltd., 39 Store Street, London WC1E, 7DD.

Wittenborn and Company, 1018 Madison Ave. 79 St., New York, NY 10021.

The Isseido, 7, 1-chome, Jimbocho, Kanda, Tokyo.

Printed in Sweden

Price 100:— Sw. Crowns

ELANDERS BOKTRYCKERI AKTIEBOLAG KUNGSBACKA 1978